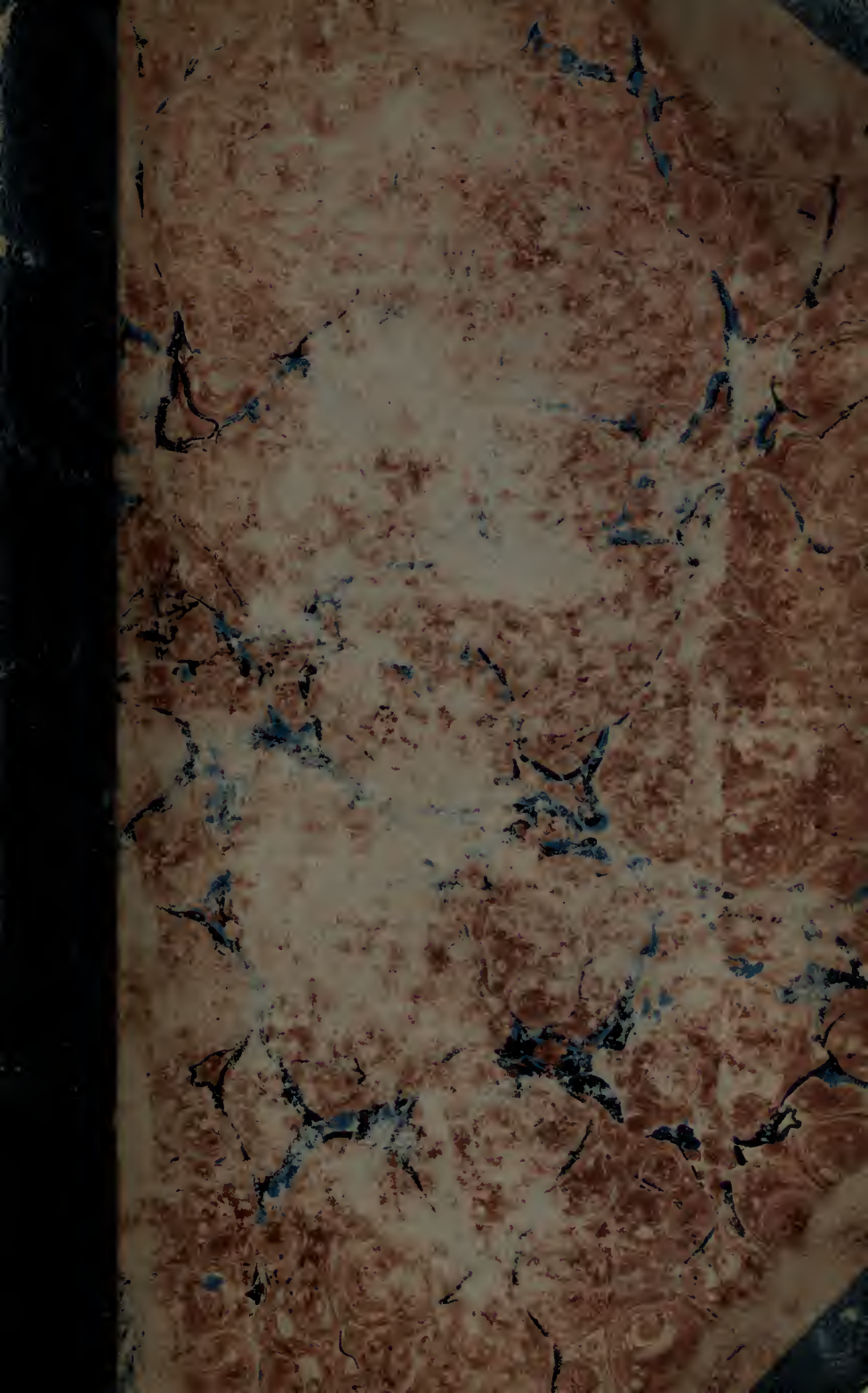
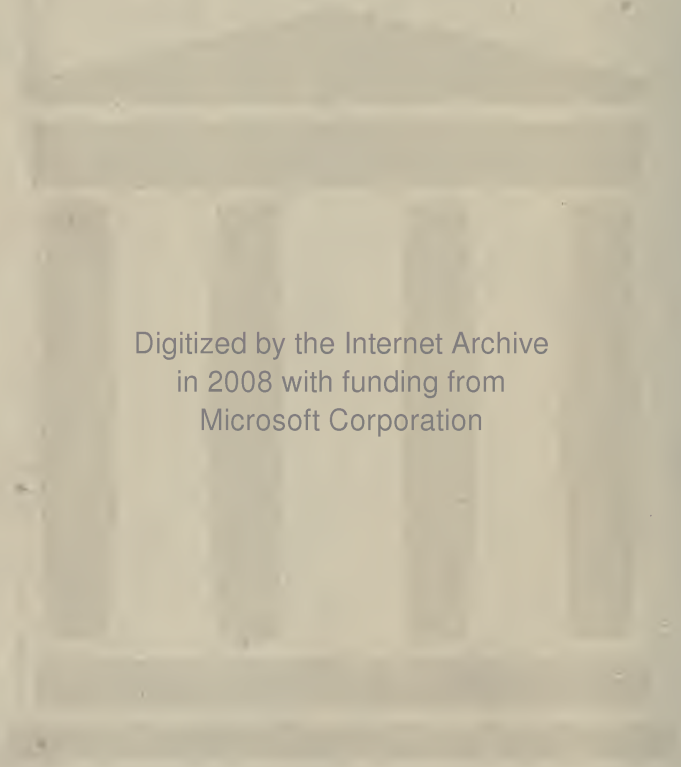






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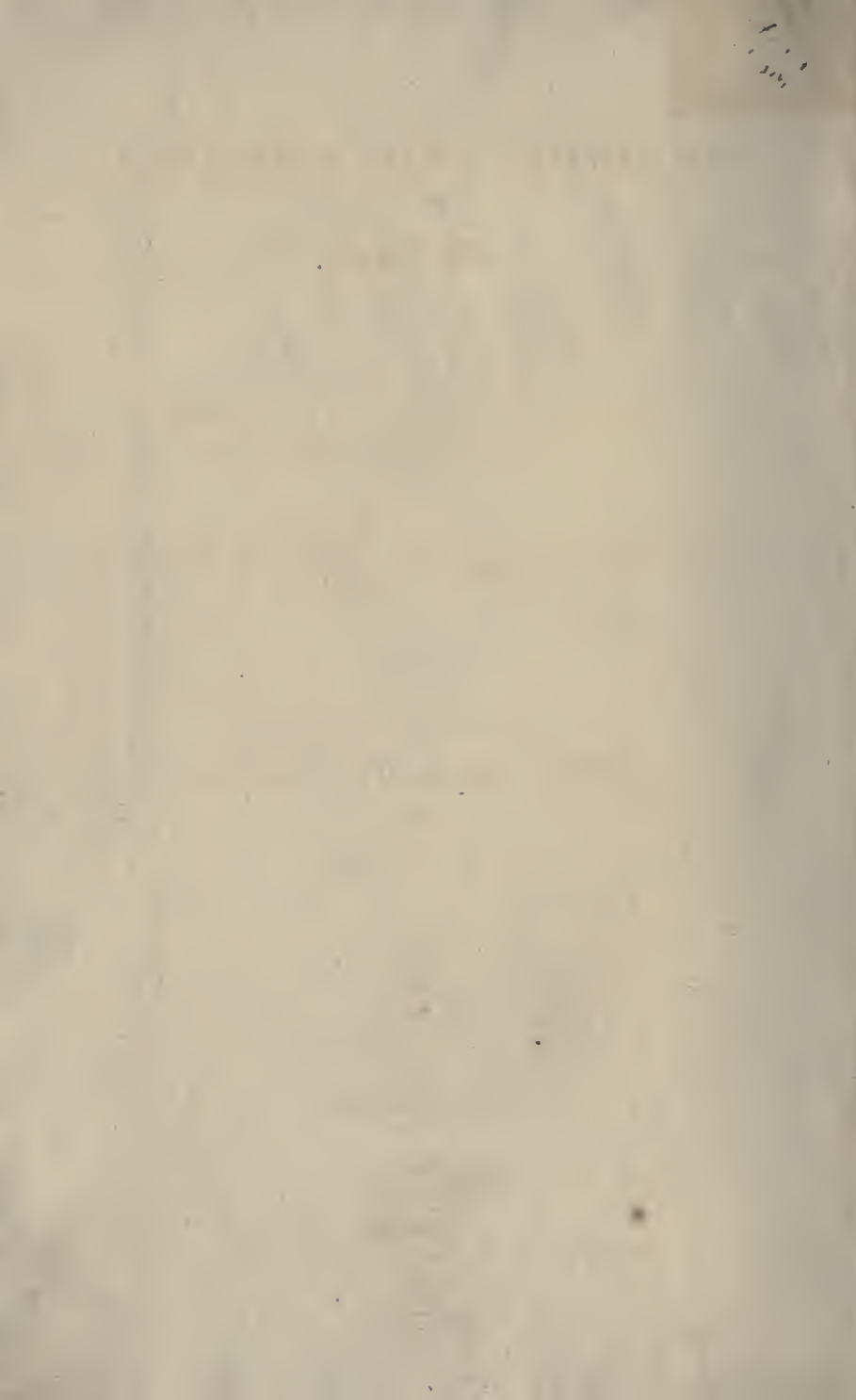
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**EUROPE AND AMERICA,
IN 1821;**

WITH AN
EXAMINATION OF THE PLAN LAID BEFORE
THE SPANISH CORTES,
FOR THE
RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF
SOUTH AMERICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
THE ABBÉ DE PRADT,
BY
J. D. WILLIAMS.

VOL. II.

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EUROPE AND AMERICA,

IN 1821.

CHAP. XVI.

ADOPTION OF THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION ; SOME RESTRICTIONS AND LIMITATIONS.

THE extent and rapidity of the conquests of the Spanish Revolution, have equalled those of Charles the Vth and Philip the IInd; like them, it has possessed Naples and Portugal, it has given the law to America; but it has gone still farther, it has reached the Brazils; these are certainly great and rapid conquests. On seeing so many nations hasten towards her, approach and confidently accept this unexpected protection, we are naturally inclined to reflect upon a movement, to which the world does not furnish a parallel; we may consult history, the example is unique.

Do all these men, who so eagerly embrace this institution, understand the nature of constitutions in general? Do they know the particular nature

of the Spanish Constitution? According to the rule, *ignoti nulla cupido*, what is the reason of their addressing such ardent vows to that, which they are not acquainted with? People, soldiers, all are its Apostles. Thus it is established without investigation, without the recommendation of experience; what does this mean? Do not passing events inform us of the presence of some powerful and secret agent, who acts beneath the shadow of appearances, which we must learn to penetrate, in order to discover the real spring, which causes all this movement?

Men in a body do not put themselves in motion without a primary and forcible impulse. Let us seek for the cause of this, and let us therefore ascend to the principle. What is the condition of those, who aspire to the Spanish Constitution? They are living under absolute power. What has the establishment of the Constitution done for Spain? —It has thrown off her yoke of absolute power. Have the other nations witnessed this effect? Undoubtedly they have. Ought they and could they expect as much for themselves? Being made in the same manner as the Spaniards, they must have thought like them and who, in their situation, would not have done the same? All nations under absolute power, would have acted the same as the Spaniards; they who had it in their power, have done so: this is the key to the

whole of this question, it is supposed to be complicated, but on the contrary, nothing is more simple. *To have done with absolute power*, such is the secret of the general love of the Spanish Constitution; without that, no one would think of it. The people and the soldiers were only the instruments of this wish; they must be strong and active to overcome all resistances, which to get rid of one by one, would require an eternity; popular action admits only of abbreviatory methods. How could one sincerely ask for a redress of injuries from courts, and aristocracy? What did the two assemblies of the *Notables* effect? They only irritated the nation, and these two political snares brought about the terrible realities of 1789, the same thing has happened in Spain. Who would have been so absurd, as to ask the Spanish Government of 1814 and 1820 to reform itself? It would have sent the petitioner to *Ceuta*, or perhaps to the *scaffold*.

Those who think they can play with the people, and that this game will continue for ever, are as ignorant of the secret of their characters as of the future.

The simultaneous and unhesitating adoption of the Spanish Constitution by so many men, who had never heard it spoken of, was therefore only the result of a general position, and of the desire

to be delivered from it, that is to say, to pass from absolute power to a regular system. If there exist any faults in all this, the blame must rest with them, who persevere in maintaining it against the rights of the people, against the precepts of reason, against the state of civilisation, which revolts against absolute power. Nothing is attempted against the Government, or the Princes, or religion, or any thing that is deserving of respect, but against that which is irregular in all parts of the society; there is no wish to shake or, to dissolve, but to co-operate and to strengthen by co-operation. Do not let us mistake geometers for *demolishers*.

Things, which ought always to be remembered are always forgotten, and above all, example and civilisation; by the first, people are induced to imitate, by the second, they take an interest in all that is done in every part of the world; it has changed it into a theatre open to every eye. When a thing is done in one place, it is wished for in another, success enlarges the circle of imitation, and example then acts with a geometrically progressive force. Thus has the revolution of Spain caused that of Naples within six months from its own commencement: these two, united, caused that of Portugal in three months, and these three have brought forth those of Piedmont, Madeira, the Brazils, and America. We follow

the increasing progression, and, if it might be so expressed, we should say, we see the revolution *travelling by forced marches*.

The prodigious success of the Spanish Constitution, unheard of among men, has therefore had two springs; 1st, a desire of doing away with absolute power; 2nd, example. Like those heroines of romance, whom knights of old, transformed into mistresses, without ever having known them, the Spanish Constitution has been able to charm ten nations, who never suspected its existence; and what was, as yet, unknown in the universe, an *incognito* has laid the foundation of the greatest empire. But, that which did not enter into this *incognito*, and which has decided every thing, was, that people thought it right to deliver themselves from absolute power, and that this had been effected elsewhere.

Thus much I perceive in the rapidity of the invasion of the Spanish Constitution, the necessity of a change without passing through the *dowane* of aristocracy, which is interested in opposing this alteration, and an encouragement, proceeding from success already obtained. Eyes, more penetrating than mine, may see many other things that have escaped me; however, I do not believe, that in my little circle, I have either seen things

through a false medium, or not seen them at all. Let us proceed to another article.

The best founded and most general accusation against the Spanish Constitution, is that which relates to *the single chamber*. This is a great fault, and I have not ceased, since 1820, to say so. It is also the opinion of others, for it is easy of discovery, but it is not sufficient to say so, it must also be said why it is so. May I be permitted to offer some conjectures upon this unfortunate conception. I address myself to good faith, and I ask it, Of what elements would you have composed the first chamber? Of the clergy and nobility? This appeared natural. What would not have been said of any other formation? In case of misfortune would not all the evil have been attributed to this omission? Were not the formation of the high chambers of France and of England before the eyes of all men? The first idea would have been to imitate them. When the ancient peerage formed the nucleus of the new chamber of peers in France, it appeared so natural, that every one thought it formed, according to his own wish; it was, therefore, indispensably necessary, that the high chamber of Spain should be formed out of the elements of ancient aristocracy, but what new horizon discovered itself there? What is the nature of a chamber of peers? That part

of the sovereignty, which is the most specially charged with the preservation of the State: consequently, in order to fulfil its destination, it ought not to possess any interest, nor any wish in opposition to such end, otherwise it would be in contradiction to itself: but how could Spain, with the least degree of prudence, deposit her new law in the hands of those, whom she knew to be the most opposed to it, namely, the nobles and the clergy? Was she not in the same situation as the Constituent assembly, when, after having formed the revolution against the two highest orders, it was proposed to it to form a chamber of peers from amongst them? In itself it was an incalculable benefit, which would have preserved France and the world from every thing they have suffered for the last thirty years; but how could this benefit, which came of itself and singly, and was composed entirely of two friendly, acceding and consenting orders, take place with two inimical, opposing, obstinate orders, who would not listen to any compromise. The court would not accede to it. M. Necker has stated in his writings, that Lewis the XVIth would never listen to any proposition in favour of the English Constitution; it was then considered as degrading to the King of France. We have seen the Cardinal de la Luzerne, at that time Bishop of Langres, looked upon by the Clergy, as a deserter, a partizan of democracy, a favourer of the

revolution, and obliged to live separate from his ancient associates, in consequence of his having openly proposed to the Chamber of the Clergy, to unite with the nobility in the formation of a High Chamber, in imitation of that of England. *The Mémoires de Ferrières* confirm it, and *we have also witnessed it. We have also seen the la Rochefoucaulds, the Mouniers, the Lallys, the Bergasses, the Malouets, and many others, struck, for a long time, by the thunder of aristocracy, and separated from the higher ranks of society, for having expressed similar wishes; and was it there you would seek for the depositaries of the new order? The same circumstance would have taken place in Spain. To have formed a Chamber of Peers from such objectionable elements, would have been nothing less than to have promoted the destruction of that which had just been effected.*

I must request a little more indulgence. I stand in need of it to proceed still farther. I am not writing satires. I am treating on the most important interests of humanity. I cannot do it reservedly; with Doctors and Confessors, there must be no reserve, on pain of physical and moral death. I, therefore, continue. What has been the object of the aristocracy, from one end of the world to the other, for the last thirty years, and particularly since 1814? When it is formed

into a legislative assembly, what does it undertake? Can Spain and all the other servants of the Spanish Constitution, perceive this as well as the other inhabitants of Europe? Can they not see that the English House of Lords refuses the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, accepts every thing which comes to it from above, through the medium of the Minister; and, notwithstanding, this Chamber is, of all similar Chambers, the least oligarchical. It is that, in which nationality most shews itself as an element of its composition. Do we not see the English democratical Chamber incline so much towards aristocracy, as to obliterate the ancient principles of the Constitution, and to furnish the Radicals with the apparent pretext of necessity for a reform, which is not to be expected without its interference? Do not Spain and all the world see the noble Chamber of Wurtemberg refuse all the advances of its King, and carry things even so far, as not to assemble? And in view of all these things, you would say to the people, Form High Chambers from among the Nobles and the Clergy; entrust the care of the revolution to those who detest it. Is there any reason or consistency in such language? Who would employ it in the most trifling affairs, in those of two private individuals? *Men have memories, and one well-advised man is worth two others.* This was, and will always be true. Do not let us conceal

it from aristocracy, and let us say to it, You have been labouring for thirty years to sow distrust against yourself. Your sole efforts have been to predominate. The means of doing so are taken away from you. You wish to possess yourself of domination, and the instruments are refused to you. You monopolize, and you are excluded. When you enter Cabinets and Assemblies, you transform them into your own instruments, and their doors are now shut against you. You reduce policy and the direction of human affairs into a species of tactics of personal defence.

The single Chamber of Spain is only a reaction upon the legislative aristocracy of other countries, and, contrary to custom, converts this portion of sovereignty, when committed to it, into That this is a misfortune cannot be too often repeated; and when so serious an aberration becomes contagious, when obstacles are raised against the most noble establishments, when the human species sees itself disinherited of its most pleasing and legitimate hopes, when things are obliterated, spoilt, and falsified, to whom must the fault be attributed? And what can be thought of the authors of the evil, who turn round, and accuse others of them? I repeat, that nothing can proceed, in the system of the modern societies of Europe, but by the intimate

alliance of royalty with aristocracy and democracy; all the strength, all the dignity of the State, are to be found in their intermixture; but it is in the just proportions of each of these parts, that the perfection of the whole consists; and it remains for aristocracy to ask itself, whether it has laboured to introduce itself into this necessary formation.

Let us explain every thing that takes place in the newly-constituted countries, upon the same principle. I see them improving upon the restrictions and limitations which they introduce, and lay open many things. Portugal has been more exacting towards Rome and the King, than Spain. Was it from hatred to religion, that the Church and the Clergy were thus treated? or was it in consequence of the part which the latter had every where been acting? The Inquisition and the Jesuits were suppressed, but were they not re-established in 1814? Have not the Jesuits taken possession of Rome, Naples, Madrid, and Friburg? Have they not insinuated themselves into France? Have they not been the subject of warm disputes? Are not the Jesuits restored wherever absolute power is re-established? Does one party conceal the use it wishes to make of them? Are they not shewn as a *holy gendarmerie*, accompanied by another *armed gendarmerie*, which are called *Cossacks*? Does the

establishment, since 1814, of Monks, Jesuits, and of the Inquisition, mean religion, or repression by religion? What blind person could be mistaken on this point?

In Portugal, in Spain, at Naples, in the Brazils, the Constitution has been made without the King. In other places, it has been made without the people. It has been excluded, and it excludes. In other places, Constitutions are promised, and are kept exclusive of the people. The possible breaking of promises has been provided against in Spain. Constitutions are elsewhere formed, without principles, and with a regular and impartial partition. In Spain and Portugal, principles have been exceeded. *Historical States* are talked of in other places. These have been formally proscribed in America. Read the preamble of the new Constitution of Columbia.

Thus the whole contradiction, that exists between the public acts of some countries, turns in a circle of reactions. The principle of it lies there. I might increase this enumeration, but I do not wish to grieve any one. I only speak of things, and with a view to utility. I shall only add one word more upon this melancholy subject. Some men, who were offended by the brilliancy of some years of the empire, began to talk of the

great age. Nothing was heard of, but the great age. This sudden love of the great age appeared suspicious to many people. This explosion of sentiment was supposed to conceal a hatred for the present age, and that the elevation of the one covered the depreciation of the other. They have, therefore, begun to take the great age to pieces, and as there is always something too much or too little, even in a great age, so this age has come but badly out of the ordeal. We have thus witnessed the hideous sight of Frenchmen, placing their country, like the man in the fable, between two ages and two mistresses, and anxiously endeavouring to strip the crown of the two brightest epochs of their own history. The same occurs in every thing, and an attentive eye will perceive a series of retaliations in every thing that takes place. Europe represents, in these days, one of the tables of that meditating Game, invented by *Palamede*, in which two determined adversaries put in motion every possible combination to deprive each other of a *few pawns*.*

Let us believe, that the declarations made at the departure of the King and that which was established and done on his return, have been read in Spain and Portugal: let us believe, that they have not forgotten Doctor Jahn, who dis-

* *Palamede* invented the game of chess, as a pastime at the siege of Troy.

appeared in the Prussian fortresses, and that they keep their eyes upon the Neapolitan deputies, who were dragged into the Austrian forts; believe, that Europe sees one power investing herself with the dignity of the Gaoler of another,* with a corresponding feeling. The ill-treatment of some gives warning to others; be assured that it is dangerous to make the care of his own safety, into a law for mankind.

What grief does not arise from seeing all the benefits vanish, which reason exhibited to all the

* What will England say to this? What will America think of it? To what principle of sociability has this any affinity.

Is it not amusing to listen to the skilful reproaches, which one party addresses to those, whom it calls *Liberals*, upon the pleasure they experience at the revolution of the South? Do the accusers then shed tears, when the Congresses assemble, when the Hungarians and the Pandours march, when the Cossacks are announced, and when the works of civilisation are threatened by the armed bands of uncivilisation? What does this signify? Did the Pagans reproach the Christians for their joy at the conversion of a province of the Empire? Did the Christians send forth invectives against the Pagans, when they returned thanks to Jupiter for the recapture of some territory? When Sweden and Denmark accepted the reformation, was Rome good natured enough to say to Germany, you are rebels, for you rejoice at a new increase to your party. Were the Reformers ridiculous enough to inveigh against Rome, because she reconquered some of her dominions? Our aristocracy is certainly no *conjuror*; all may be reduced to these words: each party seeks its own advantages; you have made parties, you now reap the fruits: the same method is always followed to desire causes without effects and trees without fruit.

world and which *temperance*, by a wise distribution amongst all, would have converted into the common good and bond of all; she would have spread the seeds of peace and union over those places which now blaze with the flames of discord, kindled by this want of temperance and reason. Thus did our great master, Montesquieu, express himself; by what fatality does it happen that we are obliged to repeat it after him?

CHAP. XVII.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA.

THE ground of this country presents an aspect, similar to that of its sky, troubled and colourless. The German Empire has always been *a species of chaos*, this began to clear itself off by the treaty of Lunneville; the Congress of Vienna also introduced some elucidation, but the light is far from having completely penetrated into it. I may venture to say, that this country resembles a species of hive, divided into princely cells, some of which contain masters, who have no greater sting than the queen of the bees, and in which more buzzing is heard than distinct sounds, where the swarm of princes is more in movement than in action, where sovereignty exists at once in ingots and in *centimes*, and in which an aggregation of the members of sovereignty ends by forming a royal democracy. How ridiculous! A formation hostile to itself, wherein neither movement nor Independence can be a common attribute, and which has not yet produced a definition of itself.

The Diet of Frankfort has not derogated from the long suffering of that of Ratisbon; Time is the prime minister of both, and Phlegm held the portfolio; men arrive at their end before affairs approach their conclusion; the Germans excel in the art of making their suitors die of weariness. In this country, affairs, like the wines of this cold climate, must be a hundred years old before they ripen; the Greeks spent ten years in taking a town, the Diet will certainly expend as many in learning where to place their new war-towns; this is a repetition of the siege of Troy. The German empire is no longer the empire of the golden bull, nor of the treaty of Westphalia, nor even that of Napoleon. It has passed by these three defiles, to reach the point it has arrived at. Of its ancient form it has preserved only the parceling out of its sovereignty, which places an immense distance between the first and last ranks of its princes; Electors have become Kings, Dukes Electors, at the moment that the Electors and the elected are destroyed; the Catholic and Protestant leagues have ceased to exist, their colors are confounded in the same hands; Sweden, one of the mothers of the treaty of Westphalia, has disappeared from the midst of her own work, and France has ended by being dispossessed of her ancient protectorship, of which Francis the first had traced out the first lineament; Russia is at

her gates, every thing has been changed in the empire, within the last hundred and fifty years; and are we then to be told, that it is the law of the world that it should remain fixed. Austria and Prussia are the real directors of the empire; the powers of the second and third degree, and even all those who belong to a decreasing hierarchy, whatever title they may bear, were it even a royal one, obey the impulse given by the two first.

Germany is divided into two zones of Government; she reckons three Constitutional States; several have historical States, the others, nothing at all, being ruled by an absolute military power. The Diet has not yet been able to define the rights of States, according to the 13th Article of the Congress of Vienna, and the historical ones promised by Carlsbad to all, have stopped on the road. The three Constitutional States of Germany have given great offence to their neighbours, as Prince Metternich declared in his letter to Count Berstedt, and yet the Constitution of these States is not sufficiently strong to alarm any one; it has enough to do, to maintain itself, for the singularity of their formation, the rarity of their legislative meetings, render them rather sketches of constitutions, than real constitutions; reason cannot perceive in this, any thing but a favouring of absolute power. What a dis-

tance does there not exist between these essays and the Constitution of England, even notwithstanding all its imperfections.

The least imperfect of these Constitutions is that of Wirtemberg; the King, on closing the last session,* made use of the following affecting words: *Gentlemen, I feel myself obliged to declare to you, to my people, and to the whole world, that I bless the day when a free contract gave birth to our Constitution.*

The Minister of Finance of Wurtemberg explained himself with a frankness which has disposed all minds to a full and entire confidence, so irresistible is the ascendancy of good faith. Some States have assemblies formed upon ancient models; in some others, alterations have been demanded and promised, with a view to bring them to a system more conformable to the actual state of society, and to that of the reflecting world. This spirit has manifested itself in Saxony, in Hanover, and will manifest itself wherever men assemble with a shadow of liberty; and, without liberty, where would be the use of meeting? The question will be every where the same as at the first meeting of the States General: *how are we to meet?* And, in fact, it is the indispensable

* 26th June, 1821.

prelude to all, or, still more, it is the assembly itself.

Germany is covered with sovereignties, and, consequently, with imposts : this is a very convenient branch of revenue for the exchequer, but, on the other hand, very inconvenient for commerce ; it was therefore much in honor during the feudal times, which cannot be accused of being the origin of commerce and industry in Europe. *The barons, on horseback, on the rivers and high roads, fattened upon the paralysis with which these obstacles struck the two sources of the riches and prosperity of nations.* Germany is now desolated by the weight of these incumbrances. Complaints have arrested the attention of the Diet, which is still seeking a remedy for this evil. In addition, it ought to put a stop to the demands of the Westphalian purchasers, whom the former elector had irrevocably dispossessed, and whose spoliation he obstinately persisted in. Austria and Prussia jointly pursue the plan of pacification in the interior of Germany, which they have adopted for the friendly termination of all these quarrels ; a humane and honourable method, which is perfectly reconcileable with the kindness of the German character.

But if these two powers prevent the birth of disorder, they also prevent the breaking forth of

Constitutions. They tend to prevent the want and desire of them, by the comfort of the people; if the end be questionable, the means, at least, are legitimate; their conduct is traced out to them by the nature of their government, it is absolute; every thing that can turn the eyes of the subjects to an object of comparison, that can strike their ears with those names, the magical sound of which is a subject of terror, such as those of liberty, of sociability, and of responsibility, and that which includes within itself all the evils of the former, namely, *Contract*, inspires them with the most lively fear;—*absolutes* must endeavour to banish and to exile them, they can never be sufficiently distant for them. The two absolute powers ought to do with Germany what they executed against Naples; the principle of their conduct in both cases is similar; they feel all the inconveniences attached to the disparity between the *absolute* and constitutionality; the latter must therefore be arrested, or the former must be relinquished. This is the reason why constitutionality does not extend itself in Germany. Some princes have been seen, who have shewn a disposition to accede to it, and who stopp'd at the entrance of a career which they themselves had announced, and which was expected by the people; it is not difficult to recognize the hands which have caused the suspension of this motion, the indication is too clear to be mistaken.

When Princes overstep this barrier, they take care to notify that the Constitution emanates from themselves; faithful in this, to the principle of Laybach, that every thing must proceed from the prince, and that the people are of no consideration in their own Constitution; we have just seen an example of this in the recent Constitution of Coburg. Those who carry their interests to such extremes, do not perceive the evil they cause at a distance, for whilst they establish at their ease those principles upon small points which are favorable to their interests, people at a distance feel themselves authorized by these examples to follow those diametrically opposite on an immense scale; thus, by divesting the people in one place, kings are divested in twenty. This is an inevitable reaction, which might be averted by a conciliation of interests, which would lead to the concurrence of all the interested parties in a settled and regular method. The reason of the one always appeals to the reason of the other, and, as *Scripture* says, Abyss invokes abyss.

Austria and Prussia are seconded by the German aristocracy, that inseparable auxiliary of despotism which serves it, and to which it only associates itself as a guarantee of its own power; for it is not on its own account that it lends it its assistance.

Germany does not possess an aristocracy so numerous, nor, it might be said, so vain in reality as that in France was, and which was more aristocratical in name than in effect. Poor, of a source not very pure, spread, and, as it were, drowned in the vast bosom of a great nation, nearly the whole of the nobility of France had neither volume nor brilliancy, it was lowered by a thousand degrading shades; a courtier, a man of quality of Paris looked upon almost all the nobility of the provinces in the same light as these, in their turn, looked upon their vassals of the villages which they inhabited; when the great communicated with them, it was like the visit of the Gods to the rustic roof of Philemon and Baucis; they were indeed then, and are still more so now, ridiculous aristocrats, whose whole riches amounted to a revenue of some few thousand livres, whose whole power was exercised by a village bailiff, whose honors consisted of a parish seat, and of the first piece of holy bread; whose whole ambition aimed at some subaltern situations in the army, who styled the *Intendant of a Province*, *Monseigneur*, and who danced attendance in the antichambers of Versailles! The German aristocracy has a very different consistency from this; it is real, founded upon riches, on the purity of generation, on a great social existence, on real power, as heads of deliberations, as the unchangeable proprietors of the great offices of the

country, and often of the sovereignty itself, of which many German nobles are in possession, and receive from it a brilliancy which reflects upon the rest of the nobility. In Germany feudality was alive, in France it was dead; the nobility of Germany would not, perhaps, have furnished history with so many chapters as that of France has done; but, in its turn, the latter would not have furnished materials for so many noble chapters as that of Germany has: the German nobility feels an almost invincible repugnance to submit to a system, which confounds it with the body of the nation, which is the antipathy of the whole aristocracy. Thus we see the *mediatized* at Wurtemberg refuse to appear, so that the lower chamber has been obliged to expedite affairs in their absence, the same as it would have done in their presence,* for it cannot be in the power of any person to arrest the proceedings of a State, and to make use of a law, made by and for it, against itself. It may be supposed that this opposition is spurred on; policy, refined in viewing things at a distance, is glad to throw thorns in the path of the Constitutional system, to make it pass from difficulty to disgust, and from disgust to the proclamation of its impracticability; this *crescendo* is among the elements of an underground opposition, but not the less active on account of its ob-

* In the establishment of the Conscription.

scurity. In some States of Germany, where the necessity of a reformation of the system which rules the existing assemblies has been demonstrated, the aristocracy has renewed its opposition, because it acts every where according to its nature.

Ever since the Congress of Carlsbad, the liberty of the press has been the uniform object of great severity in Germany; it goes on increasing, and it is not a singular circumstance to read in the German papers: *The press has just been subjected to fresh restrictions; or, The superintendence over the papers is redoubled.* In this country, as in others, the evil is attributed to books; books caused the Revolution, and will be the cause of all that take place; people will not see that it is not books, but their matter that is objectionable; the register is not culpable, but the person who makes it a vehicle for the recital of his criminal actions. France was lost by books, Europe may be the same, and England, which is said to have saved her, is the land of the liberty of the press! What are people thinking of, when they reason thus? This is however the plan that has been acted upon since 1814. From this period, war has been declared against the press; it has been pursued by the restrictive laws of the previous Censure, by the Censure on the papers, by twenty different processes; one whole party

has declared the mind to be the source of all evils; during seven years, France has only enjoyed the freedom of the newspapers, which forms the completion of this species of liberty, for ten months, from the 20th of May, 1819, to the 10th of March, 1820. The crime of one man, who read, perhaps, about as much as the lowest inhabitant of the remotest province, furnished the happy pretext for a renewal of interdictions. Germany, less happy on this point than France, because she has not so many legal organs, and which are accredited in public opinion, as France possesses, is threatened with the weight of this chain for a much longer period.

When the organization of measures of severity was begun in Germany, the same was done there as has been done in France; they have not been more inventive in one country than in another. The spectre of fear has been let loose, it has been led before the eyes of timid and short-sighted men; the discovery of great conspiracies against the existence of the holy Roman empire and of its princes, has been proclaimed; the conspirators must have been extremely clever, for they had concerted their measures so well, that not one of them has been discovered; they had taken some beardless conspirators, meditating on the banks of purling streams, beneath the wreck of the wardrobe of Arminius and of Wittikind, for battalions

of conspirators. These beautiful inventions recalled to mind the remembrance of the most ridiculous fictions of Cervantes, and on the other hand they sorrowfully awakened that of the dignity with which the affairs of human society ought to be conducted. In consequence of these real or pretended terrors, these real or created dangers, a commission of enquiry was instituted at Mentz. If its exercise has been neither long nor productive, it has at least been glorious for its members, suffering undoubtedly under the idea of the inutility of their occupation, and under every thing that is painful in such an occupation, when it is not of a great and decided necessity, the Commission dissolved itself without bringing any one to an examination, and without having imprisoned a single individual. A misunderstanding having brought a student before them,* it refused to examine him; thus do honest and enlightened men correct a blind administration, whilst others, impassioned, because they are without information, might corrupt the best, for passions always spring from want of information, and convert the most pure and naturally upright hearts into their accomplices.

Thus has the conclusion of this great measure, on which the safety of Germany was said to de-

* The Mentz Gazette of the 17th Nov. 1820.

pend, been similar to that of most of these noisy proclamations, the result of which is

Souvent

Du vent.

A means that would only be ridiculous in private transactions, may become odious when applied to public affairs, and when men, even in a great number, may be rendered passive to its effects.

I yield to the desire of entering into some details upon Prussia. This State is not known, nor is it perhaps well acquainted with itself. Its position and character in Europe are very singular; this character is equivocal, it is a mixture of strength and weakness, and is perhaps ill appreciated; its being but ill known may arise from the injustice of others towards it, and from its own misconceptions with regard to itself; both the one and the other ought to be avoided. The difficulties of Prussia in 1799,* the result of her system at that time, suggested to me some views and some advice respecting her policy, as also some presages which have been too speedily realized. The interest which I then manifested for her, is a guarantee that my pen is not guided by malevolence; so far from it, the charm of *Frederic* has

* See *Prussia and her Neutrality, 1799.*

not yet lost its influence over me; as a Frenchman I must admire that, which a sound policy had made the ally of my country, and I have always held to Prussia by inclination.

Prussia entered very late, we may say the last, into the political world. Finding all the places occupied, she was obliged to strip others in order to make way for herself; Silesia and Poland are the living witnesses of this; without making captures from her neighbours, Prussia would never have had any existence. The different parts of the State being separated, the vacuum has been filled up at the expence of whomsoever it might be. Invasions have formed the cement of the state. Too strong for a power of the second rank, and too weak for the first, Prussia has always erred in a badly fixed situation, and this has imparted something awkward and ambiguous to her character. Vulnerable on every point, prolonging herself to an immense extent, without depth or defence, forming frontiers of her soldiers like a garrison without ramparts, obliged to make treasures without riches, not able to command nor daring to obey, being poor by nature and sometimes extravagant in her necessities, always feeling a want to mingle in the action without that of acting, assisting more than interfering in general policy, careful to shew her power and to avoid being obliged to apply it, she has lived and will

live on in this constrained state, which arises from her very nature, and of which the art of her government consists in softening the difficulties and concealing the proof. Prussia ought to place one part of her power in the reputation of her strength; she cannot otherwise than be glad at being an object of menace, for this has always an appearance of power, but she would be sorry to be under the necessity of realizing such threats, for she knows the secret of her own fragility; the fields of Jena are its monument, and will not be lost to her memory; history will not more carefully preserve the remembrance of it; one day destroyed what Elizabeth of Russia and Maria Theresa were not able to shake either united or separately. Napoleon then committed two enormous errors, 1st, to overturn Prussia, and, 2d, to raise her by halves. He ought to have put up with every thing from her, to have concealed her aberrations, to have suffered her chivalric humour to have evaporated, rather than destroy, with his own hands, the barrier which was already raised against Russia, that barrier which he was destined to form, or to perish. And on raising Prussia, on offering her the hand of oppression, after she had ceased to be an enemy, why should he place her in such a state, as to leave her nothing but uselessness to herself, to Europe, and a feeling of anger against him? What an error! He has suffered the penalty, he has lost the world, he

has left it in disorder, from having erred with respect to Prussia and Italy.

Prussia, dragged on against Russia in 1812, in the train of France, no sooner saw the clouds of misfortune hanging over Napoleon, and the danger of her own resentment averted, than she broke through such ill-assorted ties ; by the most adventurous stroke, General Yorck reformed the cabinet, overcame its timid prudence, overstepped the bounds of military discipline, and by that means lifted up the weight that oppressed the bosom of every Prussian. A cry of liberty and of vengeance instantly burst forth, the earth brought forth the revengers of the outrages of Jena and of Lubeck. Soldiers, raised into judges of the State, were not then proscribed, nor were the professors and students of the universities arrested.

Under the ominous auspices of France, the Congress of Vienna refused Saxony to Prussia, which had been adjudged to her by previous Conventions. It was a singular spectacle to see France refuse Prussia that, which rendered her defensible against Russia, and Russia grant her that, which rendered her strong against herself. Here, legitimacy sacrificed policy, and this opposition shews the birth of misfortune, on the side of caprice.

This disposition has formed three Prussias; the first from the Niemen to the Oder, the second, from the Oder to the Weser, the third, from the Weser to the Sarre; such is the intersection of the three divisions of the monarchy, which is thus constituted of members separated from each other, mutually unacquainted with each other, without any common affections, of a union of arms and a separation of hearts, confounding the soldiers in the same chests, and soldiers in the same barracks; a double levy of men, who have nothing to bind them together, who are ranged under the same standard, but amongst whom it is impossible that the same feeling can flow from line to line.

The Prussians shewed themselves rapacious and severe at Paris in 1815; without them, the treatment France would have experienced would have been less harsh. They curtailed her territory by insisting on the cession of Sarre Louis to them; they did not dissemble their resentment at having been dispossessed of Saxony for a distant possession, which was detached from the body of the monarchy, and more capable of complicating than fortifying their position, and they were in the right.

The government of Prussia is absolute. Before the Revolution, it had only been occupied with the formation of the State, its creation must na-

turally precede the Constitution. The despotism was, and could not be otherwise than military, in a country where the State itself sprung from the military. The effect proceeded from the nature of the cause; but since 1815, the State is formed, thenceforward it was possible to speak of the Constitution and of the regulation of the State.

It must not be supposed that Prussia lent her assistance for nothing. Such gifts are not customary with nations. She required something more than the pleasure of fighting Napoleon, and particularly for the benefit of others.

To the desire of revenge, Prussia added a more elevated ambition. She marched to battle, singing hymns to Liberty. *Germany has also her Marseilloise hymn.* Her professors, under a cuirass, a new ornament for them and her studious youth, in an accoutrement, which weighed heavily on their yet adolescent limbs, did not intend to limit themselves to breaking the fetters of Napoleon, and to put on those of a Cabinet; they looked still higher.

The Chiefs of Prussia, as well as those of Germany, were equally well acquainted with this general disposition of their country. So long as the struggle continued, the promises, corres-

ponding with this hope, were liberally distributed; but this ardour soon cooled, and, by degrees, entirely vanished, during the journeys from Aix-la-Chapelle to Carlsbad, from Carlsbad to Vienna and Frankfort, then from Vienna to Troppau, and, lastly, from Troppau to Laybach. Prussia has signed every thing at the Congresses, but has not stirred a single battalion. She now looks on, at the affairs transacting in Greece.

But, to return, the Government of Prussia is harsh in the foundation, sometimes in the form, but seldom in act. I am almost as sorry for it as for Doctor Jahn, on account of the ill-treatment he has suffered from it, for a prolonged punishment, which does not proceed from a legal sentence, communicates itself to the hearts of the spectators, and finishes by addressing humanity itself. In similar cases, Governments ought to consider, that the duration alone of the suffering will infallibly end by interesting every body in favour of the prisoner. From hence proceeds an arbitrary colouring, which ought not to be applied to the Prussian Government. It is worth more than it appears to be.

In all countries, the attachment to the reigning family is a most favourable tie for the Government. The Royal Family of Prussia is deeply engraven

in the hearts of the subjects. In other countries, the Prince has simply had to take possession of a State ready formed; in Prussia it has been necessary to form it. It is the work of the Sovereigns, from the great Elector down to the present King, who has concluded this great work. There are few Royal Families that can pride themselves on two such brothers as Frederick and Prince Henry. Rarely does the throne receive an ornament equal to that, with which the late Queen of Prussia graced it. In her union with her royal husband, the Prussians contemplated, alas! of much shorter duration than they wished, the concurrence of beauty and virtue, which promised to perpetuate itself in a noble family. The people love to see the grand theatre of the throne occupied by commanding actors. It requires a magic around it, to keep up the necessary illusions, and to conceal disagreeable realities. Louis the XIVth was indebted to the imposing majesty of his person, for a part of the brilliancy of his reign, and for the facility with which he enforced obedience. Napoleón suffered from the smallness of his. The German is devoted to the worship of domestic virtues. He attaches himself wherever he perceives the practice of them. As his habits are simple, so he likes simplicity in his nobles. War was always his occupation. Like the ancient German, he follows those who will conduct him to it. The Prussians find all

these qualities in their Princes, who, simple, affable, and agreeable, even in private life, are always intrepid warriors, and sometimes brilliant chiefs in the field. — Every thing concurs, therefore, to attach the Prussians strongly to the reigning dynasty.

In her work upon Germany, Madame de Staël says, that the zone which extends from Königsberg to the Weser is the most enlightened part of all Germany. It may be believed on her evidence, for she is a competent judge. We are convinced of this, by casting our eyes over the number of commercial towns and Universities that are found within this space. It includes the shores of the southern Baltic, the seat of an extensive commerce. It is also there, that the most industrious parts of Germany are to be found, and consequently all of which liberty is composed, is there united together, for liberty springs from information, commerce, and industry. The citizens of these towns and manufactories are numerous, and possessed of much information, that is to say, of all that, which a great activity of commerce requires, and which riches, its companion, procures. This extent of land reckons more towns and commercial establishments than can be found in that, which is comprised between Dunkirk and Bayonne. To this first motive may be added, the Universities

and the general state of instruction among the Germans; and after this assemblage, it will be natural to conclude, that nothing can be wanting in Prussia to that moral State, the precursor and infallible creator of liberty. Prussia approached it in 1815. On the 22d of May of that year, the King published an edict, by which he announced, that a Constitution should be established, that a representative state of the people should be instituted, and that, on the 1st of September of the same year, Deputies of all the provinces should proceed to Berlin, and should confer with the public functionaries, whom the King would appoint to form a constitutional charter. Every thing was comprised in these few words. When a constitutional charter, or a representation of the people, is spoken of, it is evident that the question does not relate to feudal or to ministerial States. In 1817, a Council of State was established, consisting of the Princes of the Royal House and of the high functionaries. This was an important innovation, as is every introduction of a body, whether deliberative or consultative, in an absolute Government. A Commission, formed in this Council, was charged with the digesting a constitutional charter. It was about this time, that M. de Hardenberg undertook his since celebrated journey through the provinces of the Rhine. During this journey, an address was presented to this Minister, on the 12th of January,

1818, in the name of the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces. It gave rise to a species of parliamentary discussion, wherein M. de Hardenberg laid aside all diplomatic and ministerial reservation, and expressed himself in a manner, so consonant with the ideas and wants of modern times, that the inhabitants of the provinces of the Rhine declared, that the Minister had expressed their meaning much better than their own deputation. On the 5th January, 1818, the Prussian Minister at the Diet presented a note, by order of his Court, in which he, in the most elaborate manner, explained the point, at which the constitutional work had arrived in Prussia. He declared, that it would be proceeded on without interruption; and that within a year, the Diet would be informed of the steps which Prussia had taken in this respect; but, after that time, great alterations took place. Austria and Prussia united together to arrest the constitutional flight, which manifested itself throughout Germany. The storm burst forth at Berlin, in July, 1819, at the time when it was supposed that the King was about to sign the basis of the charter. Suddenly a report was spread, that a great conspiracy had been discovered, and there was no longer any question about the Constitution, but about Carlsbad and its consequences.

But, on examining the real state of Prussia,

and the changes her internal system has undergone since 1815, it will be found, that what has been effected by others with tumult, has been done by her silently, it is true, but still in such a manner, as virtually to present a complete revolution. Let us observe the acts.

In 1807, the situations of officers in the army, which had previously been the exclusive appendage of the Prussian nobility, were rendered accessible to all classes of citizens.

At the same period, the degrading punishments were erased from the Prussian military code. The military State was thus restored to all its dignity; and this treatment, reserved for slaves, was taken away from among men, whom honour alone ought to conduct to the defence of the liberty of the country.

In 1813, the military organization of the young men was begun and resembled, under another name, the national guards of France.

In 1807, the servitude of the peasants was abolished in Silesia, and this measure was soon afterwards extended throughout the whole monarchy.

In 1808, the municipal organization of towns

was introduced upon the basis laid down by M. de Stein.

In 1810 the Nobility were deprived of the pecuniary exemptions.

In the same year, all the ecclesiastical landed property was applied to the payment of the debts of the States.

And in the same year, the freemen's privileges and wardenships were abolished, and full liberty granted to industry.

In 1811, state labour was rendered redeemable, and the peasants made proprietors of a quantity of the lands at a quit rent.

In 1816, the Monarchy received a new territorial division, similar, but under other titles, to that which had taken place in France.

Here let us take our stand, and ask, whether this be not a complete revolution, whether it be not the same that has been done in France, and which people do not cease to exclaim against, after having imitated it, and whether it be not the same that would have taken place peaceably in France, had it not been for interested persons, who compelled the violent execution, of that, which

the Prussian Government itself voluntarily effected; the difference has arisen from the circumstance, that in one country, the same operation has been effected against the government, which has been done in another by the hands of the Government itself, so that the Prussian Government, which deserves great praise for having brought about this revolution, (for it is a perfectly well regulated one,) whenever it opposes itself to revolutions, lays itself open to this observation, "But you yourself have effected one." The only difference that exists between it and the others, is, that the revolution has proceeded from it, instead of them, and that the latter have themselves been obliged to do, what the former has done of its own accord; and which their Government would not, and did not know how to do. Would Ferdinand the VIIth have been subjected to a revolution, if he had been as careful as the King of Prussia, and if he had wisely prevented the discontents which have been produced by the shocking anomalies of his States? Would the King of Portugal have been exposed to a revolution in Europe, if he had not lived in America for sixteen years, and suffered Portugal to be governed by an English General? Would there be any revolutions in England, in France, or in Holland, if the Monarchs of these Countries were to establish themselves at Bombay, at Batavia, or at Martinique? Can sovereignty then be carried

about, and displaced, like a piece of furniture? We have just seen that the King of England cannot absent himself a fortnight, without previously establishing a regency. When revolutions are not wished for, people should not begin by doing that which is likely to cause them, or by refusing those improvements, which may prevent them; but this is the effect of the habit of power, it intoxicates, it blinds, it puffs up the mind, but does not sharpen the intellect; it inspires the idea, that one can do every thing, and that the rest must submit to every thing, and when it is wished to compose all these disorders, the source of their danger, then they are proclaimed rebels, factious, enemies of social order. What ridiculous and insolent contrariety!

The picture of the alterations introduced into Prussia by the Government itself, evidently shews that there was nothing wanting to its completion but a representative assembly, and this has only failed, because the promise, that was given to establish it, has not been kept; this does not regard any one out of Prussia, but is an altercation, between her and her Government; but that which all the world may both see and declare with equal certainty, and which is the invariable consequence of the so often reiterated principles, of the inevitable effects of civilisation, is, that the first half of the revolution has rendered the se-

cond necessary, and that, with all that Prussia has done, and sees, and understands, as well as the rest of Europe and the world, she cannot, any more than they, escape the necessary and irresistible consequences of this agitation. Will Prussia see all America constituted, and not be so herself? It is impossible that it can be of long duration.

Having cleared up all these points, let us return to the political situation of Prussia.

Russia and her alarming neighbourhood, is and will for a long time, be the grand object of Prussian policy. Nothing is now to be perceived but friendship, and fervor of gratitude, and family ties between the two sovereigns; it could not be better, but at the same time that these ardent, and fraternal sentiments are felt, the States still retain their interests and respective attributes, with strength and security on the one side, and weakness and fear on the other. Men may intermarry, but States do not; the alliance of the strong with the weak always has an appearance of seeking protection on the part of the latter, and of the forced prudence of a choice between two dangers. But how vain and futile is such policy! If Russia advance only one step towards Constantinople, the whole falls to the ground.

Prussia forced Russia to relinquish her hold upon Turkey, at Reichenbach, in 1790, and in 1799, she did the same with Austria in favour of Bavaria. Could she now renew these acts of vigour, and if she abstains from them, does she not perceive the dangers as well as the necessity of them? Is she not aware, that she thus adds to those very dangers, by not arresting the progress of the power which renders this false and perilous prudence a law to her? The position of this power is very singular; her peculiarity is this, that she can only be an auxiliary, as a principal, she can effect nothing; what could she do single-handed against Russia, France, or Austria, separate, and with what other Power can she ever be compromised? Isolated, her influence is nothing, but as an addition, it becomes decisive; her *moyénisme* recommends reserve to her, advises her to make herself sought after, to make use of demonstrations, and to elude difficulties rather than attack them hand to hand.

Political observatory, might be inscribed on the Cabinet at Berlin.

It is not necessary to seek any further proof of the justice of this observation, than in the present transactions in Greece. Every thing that is relative to them, concerns Russia with England and

Austria, which are independent Powers. Prussia cannot co-operate with any advantage whatever, in favour of Russia; she considers her already sufficiently weighty, as does all the world, nor can she act in direct opposition to her. Placed in this dilemma, what is she doing; Whilst the others act, she looks on, endeavors to conceal herself, shelters herself in silence, seeks her own safety, puts on an air of indifference and only desires oblivion. This is not very flattering to self-love, and is of little utility to the world; but it arises from the bad formation of a State without solidity, either in power or territory, and which finds itself intermingled with others, which possess these two qualifications. As the houses at Berlin present but one front to the streets, so *Prussia has only one front* towards Europe.

This question may now perhaps be put to me, Whether Prussia, as well as the rest of Germany, will remain in the state, with respect to the constitutional system, in which the Congresses desire to maintain her and the rest of the world? After having well considered the geographical, commercial, industrious, intellectual, and constitutional state of Germany, this is my answer, Look at the state of civilisation and at that of the country in which the Congresses wish to carry their anticonstitutional prohibitions into

effect, if the new order of societies does not press upon them with all its weight: begin, by clearly ascertaining this point, and if it be well proved, if you do not then find the means of raising a barrier of a hundred times the height and thickness of the Chinese wall between the already existing constitutions and those parts of Germany, which are still in the power of the absolute; if these countries read, learn and discuss what is written and done in Spain, France, America, Germany and Greece, if you do not stop the traveller on the frontiers, if you do not close all the schools and burn all the libraries, if you suffer the instruments of the press, and even the remembrance of this art to remain, that is to say, if you do not deprive human nature of the faculty of memory, annihilate science, the learned and all the enjoyments that commerce provides, if you do not sap the foundation of the temple of arts, then I am aware of what will happen to Germany and to you; if you are ignorant of it, it is not my fault, for it is long since I began to tell you of it. Do not ask me to fix the hour, for in our days it is like unto the thief in Scripture, who comes when he is least expected. I did not point out the hour of America, but that did not prevent it striking, the same will happen with yours. Hers has passed more easily, more speedily and more completely, than I ventured to predict; yours will occur in the same way; accept it, and insure

to yourself the merit of doing it with a good grace and prevent at least the disgrace of a resistance, of which every thing demonstrates the uselessness, and which this inutility renders the more inexcusable.

It is said that a *diplomatic character, well known by his political and religious romances*, wrote from Germany, that it was necessary to go to Paris to find royalists ; for this once I do not think that he has been romancing.

CHAP. XVIII.

ENGLAND.

England has been the scene of three great occurrences during the course of the year 1821.

1st, Lord Castlereagh's circular to the diplomatic agents of England at all the courts of Europe, by which those courts are made acquainted with the aversion the English Cabinet feels for the principles of the Congress of Troppau. This circular is one of the great events of the times, it has passed by, as if it had not been perceived. Aristocracy has endeavored to turn attention away from it, the French Government has never noticed it in the chamber, but it will have its consequences. We have endeavored, in a preceding article to draw it out of the oblivion, into which it has been designedly cast and to shew the importance of it.

2nd, The definitive rejection of the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, agreed to by the lower or democratical house, and refused by the higher or aristocratical house.

3rd, The death of the Queen and its consequences.

The secondary events are the reduction of thirteen thousand men in the standing army.

The King's coronation and travels.

The rejection of the motions for the dismissal of Ministers and for parliamentary reform; motions, very good in themselves, but impossible to succeed, and therefore it was ridiculous to make them; for they were neither more nor less, than asking a Parliament, devoted to the Ministry, to discharge its master, and a septennial Parliament to reduce itself to a triennial one. Power may seek to prolong its own duration, but will not shorten it. Every thing has its proper time, and the Opposition did not choose it well.

England has partaken of the general benefits which a state of peace has spread over Europe, and which the universe enjoys; she must partake of them in a greater proportion, on account of the extent of her relations with other countries and of her own possessions. European England reckons nearly twenty millions of inhabitants; Colonial England, which is imperfectly known, exceeds sixty millions of subjects. What an immense field for commerce, for fortune, and supplies! Such a

country, in which every thing is done upon a large scale, must, when it does increase, increase in very large proportions. Small profits belong to small States; and, with her, wherever there is a profit, it must be immense. The revenue has thus experienced an increase this year, which, of itself would be a fortune for a small State, but which is merely reckoned an improvement in England; so much does the scale increase every day by which the proportions of large States should be measured. What were Tyre and Carthage, and the riches of the great king, in comparison with the port of London and the Exchequer of England? King George would smile with contempt at the budget of Xerxes.

England has good reason to make and accumulate millions; for, in the career which the new state of the world opens to her, her millions will not want for employment, as we shall presently shew.

The internal state of England, such as we depicted it last year, has not undergone any alteration. This state is, in its nature invariable, that is to say, incurable; I repeat this, for the clearer comprehension of the sequel.

The investment of property in a few hands, has changed the state of England and defaced the Constitution; it contains a nation of pensioners,

surmounted by a small number of large proprietors ; such a state is alarming, and those who are threatened by it have felt it, and have united together in order to guarantee themselves from it. As they compose nearly the whole of the two chambers, they have coalesced together ; and, morally speaking, the two form only one, so that the ancient division into aristocratical and democratical houses, no longer exists ; the latter branch has disappeared. But as the two houses cannot act of themselves, and have stood in need of the public authority, which is in the hands of the government, for their defence ; they have ranged themselves round the latter, which serves them as a rampart against the natural effects of the new social formation of the country ; and which, on its part, requires their assistance as much as it is necessary to them. Hence has arisen their indissoluble and imperishable union, under pain of extinction to both parties. Hence have arisen the *Radicals*, who, not being any longer able to effect any thing by simple constitutional methods, which leave them always in a certain minority, have appealed to the non-proprietary part of the nation, and have exhibited to it this coalition of the houses and of the executive authority, as the source of the evil which must be got rid of, in order to succeed in remedying the evil itself. The Constitution has been evidently defaced by the concentration of property and the continuance of its action, and of

its connexion with the government. England is indebted to the proprietary aristocracy for the destruction of her Constitution ; the continuance of the same spring will cause her to deviate from it more and more every day. We thus see England inclining towards aristocracy and regal power, and absenting herself from the spirit of the Constitution of 1688. If those who contributed to it and who were skilful enough to extract from it the least imperfect model of government that has ever existed among men, could reappear in our days, they would not be able to recognize the England which they had placed upon a triple basis, and cemented by a common tie. Properly speaking, there no longer exists more than one in England, and instead of a bond, there is only antipathy and a tendency to overthrow. The equilibrium has been destroyed, and the tie broken. The military state has, in this country as well as every where else, experienced a great increase by the war ; before the war it was not numerous, it was more colonial than indigenious to England, and did not enjoy the same degree of consideration as the navy, the principal defence of the country. This relative position has been changed in England ; the military spirit has taken root there, the troops have become numerous, victory has swelled their hearts, a long absence from the country, their continual living under a standard, has separated them from the inhabitants of the towns, whom the

soldiers always end by despising; in time, soldiers become more the soldiers of Cæsar than of Rome, more affected by the presence of the chief who is present to their sight, than by the image of the town which is far off. With the assistance of this inclination, which is common to the soldiers of all countries, and which often renders them as dangerous to the citizen as to the enemy, (and which is one great reason for keeping up as few as possible,) they have been able and have carried things into execution in England, which, in other times, would have been looked closer into. Camps have been formed near London; they have endeavoured to intimidate the people by the sight of an armed force, and have sought in this country, as in others, to infuse a spirit into the soldiers, different from that of the citizen; to inspire him with a feeling of superiority over the other, and to make him look upon himself as the instrument destined to repress the innate inclination of the people to insubordination. As the master of the soldiers is the master of the State, they have neglected nothing to assure themselves of the former, in order to remain masters of the latter. It is thus no longer Old England that lives in the England we see; it is a new England, arisen, like the rest of the world, from the crucible of the revolution; she has not escaped any more than the rest, or than all the rest will still be able to avoid.

The intermixture of the legislative houses in the ministry, which has become their indispensable auxiliary, has deprived the British Parliament of the brilliancy of her ancient ceremonies, and of the superiority of her ancient tribune; it proceeds like those meetings of pure formality, wherein every thing being previously agreed upon, and the struggle being one of mere form, every thing is transacted amicably, and nearly in the same manner as used to be the custom in the meetings of the clergy in the Estates of Languedoc and Brittany. On the other side, the great English Opposition has disappeared; Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, and Romilly, so long the ornaments of the British Parliament, no longer exist; all have sunk into oblivion. Destitute of talents, weak in number, obliged to act more like a faction than a political party, the party which still retains the title of Opposition, offers only a combat without vigour, to sustain a defeat without glory; the same names on other heads and in other times, do not bear the same signification; the name of Opposition still subsists in England, but the reality, the fruit of party consistency, is no longer to be found.

The abundance which England enjoys in common with the rest of the world, preserves the public peace and facilitates the movements of the authorities. For the first time during the last

thirty years, England has this year been able to dispense with a loan which added every year to her debt, and which appeared to ridicule the farce of a sinking fund, dragging like a tortoise upon the giant-like strides of the deficit. This debt has at length reached its columns of Hercules, and has stopped in its course. By ceasing to borrow, the former loans, delivered from the fear of successors, have acquired more value: the public funds, those new regulators of modern societies, have experienced a progressive increase; gold, which had disappeared from the counters of the bank, has returned to spread its waves there, the guarantees at once of that which creates and surpasses all riches—credit. England, who has established herself on the two moveable bases of credit and the sea, has again found in the first the solid support of that which the second affords her; her finances are now in the most prosperous condition, and will continue in a state of progressive amelioration, if the alarm-gun be not heard on the side of Constantinople.

England participates in the financial confusion which is felt by a part of the Continent, in which, after many years of the most cruel deprivations, it is necessary to guard against an abundance, which threatens the principle of reproduction itself, by destroying the proportion which should always be found between the expences of labor

and its fruits. Corn and cattle, fallen to the lowest prices, now leave the cultivator a prey to sterile abundance, which clearly proves that population is not too great, the consumption not being able to absorb the produce. There must be some hidden spring in the general state of societies, which produces this confusion, this want of proportion in those things that ought always to be on an equal line; for complaint is general throughout Europe, and the public discussions which have been held in France, as well as in England, have not been able to produce any satisfactory result.

Philosophy has, for the last sixty years, raised a voice of toleration, and desired men to treat each other as the children of one common father, whatever method they might otherwise make use of to offer up their homage to a universal Creator; the desire was pure and humane, it has become one of the pretexts to style philosophy the enemy of society and humanity. But the seeds sown by the hand of humanity do not decay; for a long time, she had turned her attention to the unhappy state of the Catholics of Ireland, and had presented the most ardent petitions in their favor: this interesting cause was advocated by distinguished personages in England, by members, high in the consideration of the English Parliament; the Grattans, the Wilberforces continued the work

begun by Pitt. The latter preferred resigning his seat in the ministry, rather than disappoint the hopes he had given to Ireland; he failed against the religious conviction of the prince, of whose crown he was the support. The successor of the monarch, of more enlightened intelligence, has permitted his minister to do that which he himself could not propose; Lord Castlereagh, an Irishman by birth, feeling himself strong in this august support, has held out a consoling hand to his unfortunate fellow countrymen, and has employed all his means to induce at length a solution, equally consistent with the interests of his country and with those of humanity. The work of Henry the VIIIth, of Cromwell, and of the anger of William against the infatuated partizans of the Stuarts, was about to be abolished, the triumph of philosophy was near at hand; the House of Commons, under the influence of the minister, had consummated the great wish of all enlightened minds, of all the generous hearts of all countries; one step more, and it would have been accomplished: two hundred and twenty-seven votes had pronounced against two hundred and twenty-one. Ireland might hope to see the ancient sources of her tears dried up; the great wound was about to be closed, that great civil and religious aberration was about to be effaced; England was at length about to put an end to one of her anomalies, by renouncing an order of things which completely militated against

her excellent civilisation; England was about to receive her grateful sister into her arms; in their mutual embraces they were about to drown too long experienced injustice in oblivion; religion and policy joined their hands upon the altars of humanity: but oh, grief! Aristocracy was on the watch, it felt its barrier shaken, and hastened to its support. All that the prejudices of ancient religious and political hatred has brought forth, was renewed, the most ridiculous terrors were spread, and this too fleeting brilliancy of days of toleration and of peace, vanished at the voice of Aristocracy, in the darkness of night. That which was adopted in the House of Commons by a majority of two hundred and twenty-seven votes, was rejected in the upper House by one hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and twenty. In this grand debate, the democracy exhibited a great superiority of intelligence over the aristocracy: the English clergy separated itself from the cause of toleration, the justice and advantages of which, its own intelligence would not permit it to disavow; it has not attended to the general interests of other ecclesiastical bodies in other countries, which, although separated from it on some points, yet belong to it as a political body; by this the English clergy has not encouraged the introduction of the clergy into the upper chambers.

If I were not a human being, were I only a politician, I should most heartily congratulate the English aristocracy; I should thank it, for having preserved England's ancient stain of fanaticism, of atrabilarious and ridiculous intolerance; I should thank it, for having deprived England of millions of arms, which this act of reason was about to add to her own; and adding irony to my thanks, I should invite aristocracy to enjoy the fruits of its works, by contemplating the consequences which have already been produced in Ireland. I would ask aristocracy, whether its memory had fled, which ought to have reminded it, that the negative, opposed to the engagements entered into by Mr. Pitt with Ireland, by consent of the Sovereign, and against which foreign suggestions afterwards prevailed, have exposed both England and Ireland to a long series of common misfortunes, by arming them against each other.

The heir apparent to the throne has expressed himself in opposition to the emancipation in so decided a manner, as not to admit of a hope of its speedy accomplishment. This Prince appears to have inherited, on this point, the sentiments of the authors of his being, whose most ardent affections were centered in him. May he not have to experience the effects of this opposition,

when it will come to his turn to support the burden of the State.*

* MONITEUR, 25th April, 1821.

British Parliament, Catholic Emancipation, Duke of York's Speech.

The most important speech that was delivered yesterday, in the House of Lords, on the Catholic Question, was that of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, as considered with respect to his proximity to the throne. This Prince has evinced the most decided opposition to all concession of political power to the Roman Catholics, and has expressed a hope, that he might preserve these sentiments to his latest breath.

It is, said the Prince, with the greatest repugnance that I address myself to your Lordships; but, unfortunately, there exist occasions which impose a duty on every person, invested with the power of making laws for his countrymen, not to content himself with giving a silent vote. I feel myself, therefore, called upon, under these circumstances, to utter my thoughts at a time when your Lordships are also called upon to sanction a measure, that may produce a total change in the great principles which signalized the revolution of 1688, by which the family of his Majesty was placed upon the throne. I may, nevertheless, say, that the question submitted to your Lordships is not new; it has been agitated during several years, and has always been produced by men, to whose opinions I pay the greatest deference, at the same time that I oppose them.

Brought up in the principles of the Established Church of this kingdom, the more I have heard this question discussed, the more I am strengthened in my opinion, that her interests are inseparable from those of the Constitution. My Lords, said his Royal Highness, I consider the Church of England as an integral part of the Constitution of our country, and long may she continue to be so. I hope that I shall not be looked upon as an enemy to toleration, in the proper sense of the word; but there is certainly a great difference between extending to the Roman Catholics the liberty of conscience, in the performance of holy

The discussion of this great question gives rise to two observations of some importance.

1st. How great must have been the wisdom of the English legislator, who was discreet enough to keep the Crown separate from the legislative initiative! What a fall would it not have experienced on this occasion, had the proposition emanated from it?

2d. The means which were used to keep up, and increase the Opposition, which has produced the contrary determination, deserve serious attention. Let this be well considered.

The demands of the advocates of emancipation, the speeches of the Ministers, were full of the most noble and most solid arguments. Every man divested of prejudice felt the force of them, and could not but accede to them. Their opponents have only recalled the arguments which were in force in the time of Cromwell and

rites, and in permitting them to perform a political part in the Government. I have only further to thank your Lordships, for the attention you have been pleased to pay me, and to leave the decision of this question in your hands. On presenting my acknowledgments to you, my Lords, I can assure you, that I have only expressed the sentiments which I have always professed since I have been capable of forming a sound judgment of things, and which, I trust, I shall profess to my latest breath.

William, but which are inapplicable to the present. The so called opposition papers, which, on this occasion, were become ministerial, urged the triumph of this cause with a force and dignity worthy of it. The aristocratical writers and, among others, the Courier, followed the tactics of their brethren of the Continent. They invoked ancient prejudices and animosities, kept up by prolonged ill-treatment. They displayed a future full of misfortunes; the religion of the State overturned, the Catholic creed gradually invading it, and taking possession of the State by means of this concession, adding demands upon demands, and as not being able to be restrained but by slavery. These men spoke against the Irish, as had been done in France against the 300 franc electors. The success has been similar. Men who have been alarmed, have continued to be unjust towards men, who have suffered and been harassed for three hundred years. Fear has been called in to confirm the works of barbarity, and England has deprived herself of an arm, for the sake of not loosening the hands of Ireland. What a responsibility rests upon the heads of those, who, from interested and often from disgraceful motives, and by means, the unworthiness of which they must be acquainted with, for they are the authors of them, succeed in rendering the judges deaf to the calls of religion, of humanity, of justice, of civilisation, and to the necessities

of their country? As a Frenchman, I should triumph over the weakness of the rival of my country; as a man, I weep over the wound inflicted upon humanity, upon the blemish reprinted on human nature, in the midst of a people to whom it has often been indebted for the greatest titles to honour.

During the course of the year, a personage of the most elevated rank disappeared from the scene, which she had occupied with more tumult than glory to herself, or utility to the royalty with which she was associated. At a time when such an event was least expected, the Queen of England died. The people, not being able to be persuaded, that the great are formed like themselves, identifying perishable actors with a theatre which must never perish, and placing them on the scene like those figures which are destined to support or to decorate it, gave themselves instantly up to the wildest fancies, and insisted that crime had accelerated the work of nature. There is nothing marvellous in the more or less sudden death of any person whatsoever, it is the common fate; the hour of every one is appointed. It is not astonishing that a woman, burdened with the weight of years, injured by long and affecting vexations, and of a gross habit of body, should unexpectedly arrive at the end of a life, which may have been slowly undermined

by concealed principles of dissolution. The time having arrived, things took a very serious aspect. The Queen had desired that her mortal remains should be transported to the sepulchre of her ancestors at Brunswick, that they might find in the bosom of her own family that peace which she had not been able to enjoy in her adopted one. The friends of the Queen wished that her funeral should pass through London. The Government, supported by some dispositions of the last will of the Queen opposed it. On their side, her partisans insisted. The Government was aware of the inutility of opposition, as also of the absence of all danger, in permitting that which was desired. It persisted, took its measures, displayed its ordinary means of force, but all in vain. The soldiers, overwhelmed by the pressure of the multitude, became immovable, were deprived of the use of their arms. The flood of the population of a colossal capital filled immense streets, which were choaked up in several places in such a manner, as to impede the march of the troops, and renewed in London the scene of the famous days of the barricadoes, which were employed, with similar success, against the troops of Henry the III^d, and of Ann of Austria. Thus has the population of great towns been taught, that it is always in their power to render the movements of troops, which assume a menacing attitude in the midst of them,

of no effect. This is a dangerous lesson, it furnishes Governments with serious subjects of reflection upon the employment of an armed force in populous towns, and should induce them to use the greatest precaution.

The decease of the Queen is of little importance in comparison with this event, and she was perhaps never more fatal to her country, than on quitting it; one day has revenged her whole life; her departure resembled the farewell of Medea.

But let us see whether the Ministry has acted with prudence on this occasion, and whether it has not shared the indiscretions of its opponents. Prudence is one of the first attributes of Governments; it ought to be the rule of all their actions, and should prevent their taking any measure which would lead to evident danger without any real or certain utility.

The Ministry was advised of the disposition of the multitude, it had received the assurance that the accomplishment of the wish or fancy, which the people had conceived, would not occasion any inconvenience, if it were not opposed. What was the matter in question? The most unimportant thing in the world, that a corpse should leave England twenty-four hours sooner or later, and that the people should see a person for the last

time, who had occupied its mind so much. In what did the danger consist? There was no real interest to prevent it. The year before, the Ministers had seen the capital, as it were, shaken to its foundation, on the occasion of the Queen's procession to St. Paul's; it had seen that this immense shock had not led to any unpleasant result; it knew, that an insurrection in England is always well organised, and still it thought itself obliged to persevere in its opposition, which it founded upon the wish expressed by the Queen, that her body should leave England three days after her death. A thing of so little importance in itself, which it was in the power of the Ministry to alter without injury to any one, appeared a subterfuge; the ministerial scruples were considered ridiculous; people have learnt in this country, as well as in many others, to distinguish pretexts from reasons. In this state of things, no one being willing to give way, the great scene commenced; the Ministry was completely beaten, and was taught, that by means of the exhibition and re-exhibition of soldiers, it had compelled the people to seek and to find the means of annihilating them. It has thereby given a pernicious lesson at the same time that it received one itself; it has shewn on this occasion, the inclination of power to exact every thing under its title of power, and to believe, that there is dishonor and weakness in ceding even to established reasons.

And what is the consequence? The Ministry opposes, it has not anticipated every thing; it is attacked in a manner different to what it had expected; it has sought its own defeat, and a triumph for its enemies, as well as a bad example for the spectators; and then, when the misfortune happens, it does not accuse itself, but men, who are called factious, liberals, enemies of social order, because they have themselves been the enemies of reason.

But let us leave this dismal scene, and turn towards that, in which the English Government has assumed the noblest attitude, and displayed that superiority of intelligence, which appertains to the ministry of the most ancient and most regularly constituted country that exists in Europe. The English are the elders of the real constitutional system, and under this title, they have the right to set the example of rejecting principles that are injurious to sociability. I have shewn the difference of opinion that was manifested between the Congress of Troppau and the British Cabinet, and have related the manly manner in which the latter had repelled the principles of that Congress. On this occasion the English Government took a more elevated character, for it shewed itself the first in the ranks of societies, of civilisation, and of nations, defending their rights and re-establishing those principles from which they spring. It

has fortified the bases of the independence of nations, which had been shaken by the declaration of Troppau; it has refused its concurrence to a pernicious doctrine, and has gained the highest elevation by not hesitating, in the fulfilment of this task, between its affections and its principles, and by separating itself from those, with whom it had been in alliance during many years; nothing can be more honorable than this equally candid and enlightened determination. It may thus be conjectured, that England would not be more disposed to subscribe to the doctrines upon the divine right of princes and the *passiveness* of the people, emanated from Laybach. Still less should we see her lending her fortresses for the detention of the Neapolitan deputies, who a few days before, had been proclaimed faithful subjects, and who had been assured, that they should not, under any pretence, be subjected to ill-treatment. By her conduct with regard to Troppau, England has placed herself at the head of the opposition of the world to despotism, as she is seen to place herself at the head of the opposition which the freedom of Europe invokes against the enormity of the Colossus by which it is threatened.

I now explain myself, for I am arrived at the article which must have been foreseen at the beginning of the chapter.

During thirty years, England opposed herself to Louis the XIVth, she was the spirit and support of the great confederacies that were formed against that monarch; it was by them, and with them, that she reduced him to the last extremity. Louis would have been ruined if he had been abandoned to the hatred of Marlborough, and Eugene. The disgrace of the former was his salvation.

After the lapse of a century, England assumed the same character against Napoleon. The latter was about to govern the Continent, when England again placed herself at the head of the European opposition to France, whoever might be her chief, and replaced her within her ancient frontiers. And what have England and Europe gained by this? As we have already said, *Nothing*, absolutely *nothing*. The evil has only changed in situation, the master has changed; but there remains one, and this master is Russia, who is much more threatening than France was, or ever could be. The dangers of this State, the pressure of this Colossus upon Europe, are diminished by the virtues of the Sovereign of Russia; but whatever security he may personally inspire, he cannot cause the non-existence of this power; on the contrary, he increases it by civilising Russia; England is too enlightened not to perceive in this country, as she did in France, the

forge of the chains of Europe. Others may also perceive it, but they are not enabled to place themselves in direct opposition, as England may, under the shelter of all her advantages of position and power, which will bring these two States in contact in every place, and in every respect. Placed in the midst of the seas, inaccessible, she has nothing to fear from Russia; the Continent, on the contrary, has; she must act so that the others may have as little to fear as herself; for every thing that they may lose to the advantage of Russia, by increasing the power of the latter, will turn to her own disadvantage; thus the part which England must act, is not one of generosity, but of necessity. It is from this reason, that we now see her enter so deeply into the affairs of Turkey. Can it be supposed, that she is unfavorable to the Greeks? Let those Cabinets, that are pre-occupied with their ideas of revolutions, rank the affairs of Greece among the revolutionary movements; so confined a view does not suit England: her horizon extends to a much greater distance; in the support she lends to Turkey, she considers only opposition to Russia. The latter is of the same religion with the Greeks, and this religion has great influence over both people; if the Greeks prevail by means of a diversion made by Russia, gratitude will attach them to her; they will, for a long time, seek shelter under her wing, against a return of Turkish domi-

nation, for the Turks, although beaten, and confined to Asia, will not perish, and will continue to seek the road to Greece; the Greeks will, therefore, for a long time, stand in need of the assistance of Russia, and their union with her, will still increase her power. These are the elements on which the foundation of the conduct of England is laid with respect to Greece. The disposition of England is not unfavourable to the Greeks, she does not defend the turban against the cross; she knows how to distinguish the things of heaven from the things of the earth; she only opposes herself to any augmentation of power that Russia may acquire by the diminution, which that of Turkey may suffer, and in which an enlightened policy shews her a counterpoise to the predominance of Russia. England would protect humanity in the persons of the Greeks, but she seeks to protect the independence of Europe, by admitting nothing that could weaken Turkey. It is thus that the connexion between Austria and England must be explained; the principles of the two Governments have kept them at a distance from each other at Troppau; but political opposition against Russia has united them at Constantinople.

This constancy of opposition, this search of opposing powers with an open purse, will be dear to England. Whenever the question has related

to opposition to overwhelming power, for the last one hundred and forty years she has not calculated the cost; and this arises from her knowing that there is always enough money, wherever there is sufficient liberty; and that Carthage ought not to have delivered up her vessels and her elephants until she had lost her's. It was to these unavoidable expenses during a long series of years, that I alluded, in speaking in the beginning, of the importance which every improvement of revenue, and measure of economy would prove to England.

Another hemisphere, a more extended theatre, will afford her the opportunity of employing her acquired riches with the necessity of increasing them. It is America that will in future prescribe this law to her; this destiny is fixed beyond the power of human interference. England still has possessions in the North, and in the centre of America, in the West India Islands, and on the borders of Asia. But what will become of all these distant possessions during the general and eternal revolution of America; placed as they are in the midst of an order of things, contradictory to that which prevailed at the time of their establishment? Colonies were made for the system of their days, they are now in the midst of one, which does not at all resemble it. Every

thing is changed in that country. America then regulated herself according to Europe, she now presides over herself; whilst contestations engage the Europeans, America proceeds, perfects, equips and arms herself; republics multiply, empires are created, the American flag rivals that of England on all seas; men multiply, become legislators, mechanics and warriors like those of Europe; in such a state of things, a new burden will weigh upon England with a weight as yet unprecedented, she must extend her arms very much to retain possessions so extensive, and so distant from her. Canada joins the United States, the Floridas have just been annexed to her; by these, they govern the Gulf of Florida, and the passage from the North to South America, and to the Leeward Islands. England being the greatest colonial, as well as the greatest commercial State, will be the most compromised in the effects of this great development of the new world, she will feel it the most. Others can only gain, she on the contrary, has much to lose.

By the concurrence of very extraordinary circumstances, England is placed in the centre of a double opposition in the Old and in the New World; she requires at once an immense lever, and an inexhaustible treasure; her part is, at the same time, full of glory and of danger, the most

elevated in politics, and the most ruinous in finance.

The King's Coronation, and the other mere court transactions, are become only subjects for insertion in the papers.

The King's journey to his Irish dominions, which were unknown to his ancestors, is an act of civilisation most consistent with the interests of both countries ; this approximation could not be otherwise than favorable both to the Prince and to his subjects ; the latter by exhibiting sentiments of the greatest loyalty at the sight of their Sovereign, must have re-awakened in his heart the regret at not having been able to confer upon them the benefit he had intended ; he must have felt the whole extent of the fault which had been committed by the English Aristocracy, in refusing him the pleasure of enjoying the fruit of the noble idea he had conceived ; and when the Catholic clergy and the Quakers, arriving from the opposite poles of religion, presented themselves before him, to exhibit each in their own manner, their affectionate and obedient hearts, he must have imagined that toleration herself appeared before him, and presented him a petition to put an end to the intolerance that desolated the land in which they were assembled, and at the same time a proof of the

equal facility, with which kings may be served by those, who differ in the manner of serving the King of kings.

The King has visited his kingdom of Hanover, in which his ancestors were well pleased; his father was the only one of his family that had not visited it.

This journey must have presented the Prince with two subjects of reflection and comparison. At Calais, he found himself in the city, whose inhabitants Edward the IIIrd wished to sacrifice in revenge for the fatigues of a long siege, such were the habits of the times; in ours, he would have honoured their valour and their fortitude; his mind must have been occupied with the three hundred years of war between his country and France, and with the Edwards and Henry V. claiming and occupying the throne of France; one half of the history of England must have passed in his memory. He stepped upon French ground, but it was not to carry devastation before him, like his ancestors, it was to receive the honors due to his rank, and to an illustrious friendship; he may have convinced himself, that it is not necessary that the King of England should bear the title of King of France, in order to be treated like a king in France.

In travelling in Germany, the English Monarch must have appreciated the difference of the civilisation of both countries. How petty must Hanover have appeared to the sovereign of London? Into what scenes could he think himself transported, who had been in the habit of flying along roads that have been traced out by a skilful hand, throughout the whole extent, and in every direction through Great Britain, and which are preserved by the best regulated care, when he felt himself dragged heavily along the marshy dikes, that form the roads on the other side of the Rhine; he, who had been accustomed to the elegance and neatness of English dwellings, met only with smoaky huts and straggling towns, buried in mud? The King of England must, at this moment, have felt himself as much above the King of Hanover in civilisation as in power; and the comparison must have inclined him to let these, his subjects, so much in arrear, enjoy those objects of improvement which have given him others, more advanced than they in the career both of political and purely moral civilisation.

England has made, during the year 1821, a reduction of 13000 men in her standing army. The extent of her colonies obliges her to keep a larger force on foot than is consistent with the spirit of her Government. A more extensive plan

of reduction has been announced, which will place her internal defence in the hands of the militia or yeomanry. May England set the example of a perfect return to true civilisation, which is not compatible with a continual state of war! May it be speedily and generally imitated, and the world deliver itself from an encumbrance of soldiers, which ruins, and too often only serves to oppress it!

CHAP. XIX.

KINGDOM OF HOLLAND.

THIS state consolidates itself, its frontiers are fortified, its interior is organized and calm; religious dissensions have been terminated, authority has made itself respected by a litigious clergy; there it is in the temples, and not in courts or in politics. The good sense of the Prince has arranged every thing. In this country, the clergy has lost more than in France; in this country, there have been emigrants, and estates have been sold, but these emigrants have not solicited the foreigner, nor raised Europe against their country; and yet, neither the clergy nor the emigrants are ever spoken of in Holland. They are not in this country, like a leaven, that ferments, agitates and embitters the State. The fate of both the one and the other has been once fixed, and it is no more spoken of; they are not seen continually renewing their demands. The good spirit of the Government has cut the matter short; that which is done, remains so. The clergy does not consider itself degraded, because it is paid: their forests have not been returned to them, the number of bishops has not

been left the same as in the time of Napoleon, the clergy do not pass their time in preaching against the system of freedom nor of constitutions; the Belgian, Dutch and Liege emigrants do not demand any thing; the clergy and the emigrants have not formed themselves into aristocratical coalitions to seize upon the government of affairs; the Government of this kingdom does not admit of any thing of the kind. Order and economy reign among the administrators formed in the Dutch school; we do not hear of immense gifts being made there, nor of men being promoted to the first rank in the state, upon whose services opinion is divided; every thing is in order in this country, and therefore it is exempt from collision. It has lately furnished a very remarkable example of the incompatibility of certain functions with legislative independence. Financial propositions made by the king, have been rejected by the Chambers. Six members of the upper Chamber exercised the duties of chamberlains about his person; they were on the side of the Opposition, and six days afterwards they received an order to abstain from their attendance upon the Prince. In this, I distinctly perceive two things:

1st. That all were in the right; the deputies to vote according to their conscience, and the King not to permit the officers of his household to vote against him. In this case every

one exercised his right, no one can be found fault with.

2nd. That the order which makes a deputy an officer of the Prince, and an officer of the Prince a deputy, is incompatible with the independence of the deputy, which is his principal attribute; and consequently that to be a courtier and a deputy are incompatible; it is necessary to know how to choose between two things, the one of which may, by its nature, prejudice the other; which, in fact, means, in pure English, that independence is a necessary qualification of a deputy, and that courtiers and functionaries ought never to be deputies. Let both the one and the other remain in their proper places, and let those of the deputies be filled by men, who have not the same ties as themselves. The proverb says, *You must not feed at two mangers.*

CHAP. XX.

DEATH OF NAPOLEON

OH thou! who couldst shew the littleness of man in the fading of a young flower, withered in an instant by the hot blast of noon,—who couldst make the palace of Lewis shake with terror at the simple repetition of those words, which were heard, when an unexpected stroke laid low the head of the lily, which spread its lustre over all his court; thou, Bossuet, shouldst paint the grandeur of the silent wreck, St. Helena has just witnessed. If the death of a simple woman could inspire thee with accents, pregnant with wisdom so profound and so terrible, what colours would not thy pencil have extracted from the catastrophe, that has exhibited the man, whom the world seemed scarcely vast enough to contain, shut up, during a long series of years, in a narrow enclosure? What wouldst thou have uttered at the aspect of this immense wreck, confided to a distant, unknown, and inhospitable land? It is there that thou wouldst have repeated with truth: *Ah! que nous ne sommes rien!* Lend me the thunder of thy voice to pour forth this truth unto the world,—for never was its application more just. And you,

flatterers,* courtiers, mercenary writers, idolaters, the unsavouriness and indecency of whose adulations, ought to make those, to whom they are addressed reject your loathsome praises, turn your eyes towards St. Helena, and see what man is, when separated from power. One or two friends, whose names will be preserved by history, were all that remained to Napoleon of the retinue that surrounded him, when he held that power, which but lately placed the world at his feet; for we have all, every one of us, seen it there; he has had popes to consecrate him, kings for his courtiers, emperors as competitors for his alliance, and lastly, the world for his flatterer. This was to

* Let the Prince and every member of his family be treated with respect, let the language used towards public authorities, be always respectful, it is required by good order; but we cannot perceive any thing but baseness in the continual repetition of the same species of flattery, which possesses not the least merit in the expression, and is incessantly poured forth in the same tone, without the accession of any new or brilliant action—we cannot otherwise than experience disgust at such conduct, joined to that painful feeling which is attached to every action, that is vile in itself, and that is besides done with a bad grace. It is because Napoleon was much praised at a time when praise had the excuse of great actions, which could affect the mind, that it was necessary to choose a different method at his downfall, and carefully to avoid what the former period had been reproached with. Good sense seemed sufficient of itself to prove, that on the commencement of another reign, it was necessary to separate one's self from practices which had predominated in the preceding one, and to be sober in the use of that, of which one might with justice have been accused of prodigality.

him, what you are to others, who in their turn have power in their hands; for a long time he appeared to be the pivot of the world, it was upon him that it turned, it was towards him it gravitated; but he is separated from power, it is lost to him. The universe proceeds onwards, it waits for no one, it keeps on its course over the wrecks of empires, and of dynasties,—under the Cesars as under the Constantines,—under the Brunswicks as under the Stuarts, with it the species are every thing, the individual nothing.

The man, whose every movement shook the foundations of Europe, or arrested its attention, falls isolated, and Fame, which publishes his end, obtains but a few short moments of fleeting attention, and proceeds on to other objects. Had he fallen on the field of Moscow, of Dresden, or of Lutzen, the world would have resounded with the noise of his overthrow; but the man alone remained, separated from power, silence alone attends him, and *the solitude of the funeral of the poor** is his portion. Some honorable tears may have been shed in the palace itself which he decorated, but this is the extent of the solemnity of his funeral. We may imagine we see the sheet carried before the procession of the great Saladin. Charles and Christina, separated from the throne, also ter-

* A print lately published in Paris—a dog following the hearse of his master.

minated their days in silence — by abdicating power, all right to the attention of the world is then also abdicated! Will you then continue to say, that man himself is of any consequence, and continue to present your disgusting flatteries to him?

Was it necessary that, in falling from so great a height, Napoleon should be reserved as an example of the vanity of human greatness, for the acquirement of which he had labored so much; and for a confirmation of the wise maxim he so often repeated: *There does not exist a man for whom there is a necessity.* Often has he said to me, *It is the disease of princes to believe themselves necessary—no man is necessary, myself no more than another, say what you will. Alexander and Caesar are dead, and the world continues its course.*

The coincidence of the death of the Queen of England with the intelligence of the decease of Napoleon, produced those phantoms which popular credulity is liable to conjure up, and to which many men also give way, although separated from the people by the nature of their education. The evil * which they both sunk un-

* Those who were about the person of Napoleon, may have observed that he was subject to a continual cough, which sometimes had the appearance of convulsions, for the soothing of which he carried lozenges about him, and took great quantities of them.

der does not frequently occur in the long list of those by which human nature is afflicted. Superficial minds conceived that the conclusion of their existence was the term of the great embarrassment of some persons, and imparted an interest to it, which it was far from possessing; as it often happens, credulity encouraged a false appreciation of circumstances; the people had long looked upon Napoleon as an extraordinary being in the annals of human nature, and appeared to believe, that the end of a man, whose life was dissimilar to what they had remarked in others, must also be different to that of all other human beings. In order therefore to gratify its love for the marvellous, it had recourse on this occasion to the supposition of crimes which cannot be admitted in the present state of things, and of civilisation. Let us, for our part, hold to nature, which shews that there is nothing astonishing in the death, either of the great or of the little—it is in life and not in death, that the wonder exists. Is it at all surprising that a man, who has been tost about by so many storms, worn out by so many laborious undertakings, violently torn from so exalted a station, and so different from that which he afterwards filled, and exposed to the fire of the tropics and the vapours of the ocean, should ap-

He often said to me, It is a nervous stomachic cough; it is of no consequence; it is an hereditary evil. The organic evil existed, and brought on death by developing itself.

proach the end of his career before the time it appeared to hold out? Every one, who has served and loved Napoleon, could only, in paying the tribute due to humanity and affection, wish for the termination of his sufferings. When the sun of his glory shone brilliantly upon the world, a long duration to his shining days might be wished for, but when they were overshadowed by the darkness of night, their occultation was the only subject that could occupy the wishes.

From the very beginning of his career, Napoleon arrested the attention of the world, and advanced towards the immortality of history. From the very day that placed the grave between himself and us, we have entered with history upon the possession of his life, of the appreciation of his character, and of his classification among those men, who have governed their fellow-creatures; if he was our master during a long period of his life, by death he has become our subject. In the actual state of things, there are only those whom we may with propriety term weak-headed, who can feel themselves offended at whatever may be said of Napoleon and of his political career. I should be glad if these gentlemen, who are so mistrustful, who are so violently agitated at the sound of the least name which is not agreeable to their auricular organs, names, by the bye, of which they were not always so very tender, would

have the kindness to point out the difference that exists in the present moment between Napoleon I, Napoleon II, or Napoleon L; between that which is dead, that which is born, and that which will never be. For our own part, destitute as we are both of this species of susceptibility and of this perspicacity, we shall treat upon Napoleon I. as we should upon Napoleon L, and, at least in our opinion, quite as innocently of the one as of the other.

There remain only two objects to be effected with regard to Napoleon—to write his history, and to describe his character; both of them difficult tasks; the history of the Revolution is still to be completed, and will be so perhaps for a long time to come; much labor has already been spent upon it, and the work is in about as advanced a state, as that of the Dictionary of the French Academy. This history can belong only to posterity. It must proceed from the collection of the memoirs of those contemporaries, who have written what they have seen, or what they have learnt in the most unquestionable manner. Without this it will be nothing more than a made up tale. Who can possibly know what has taken place at the same moment at London, at Vienna, at Paris, and at Basle, which Burke termed the great mart of Europe? Who can tell by what threads a thousand springs have been directed and

put in motion, the natural and public effect of which are known, but the cause and end of which are concealed? In order to be well acquainted with an action, composed of such a complication of events and of men, as the revolution is, it is necessary to wait until all the elements, by which it can be made known, are united together and published; every thing that is essential to the composition of the history of the Revolution, will be extracted from them: a history will then be completed worthy of the name, but that this cannot belong to our age is sufficiently manifest from this abstract of its composition.

These reflections are peculiarly applicable to the history of Napoleon; it occupies the most extensive, as well as the most noble part of the revolution; it contains an incalculable number of actions. Napoleon acted upon a very large and a very diversified extent of territory, often by circuitous ways, with views known only to himself, and according to considerations which could only be conceived by a mind such as his; a thousand acts may have depended upon springs which are buried in obscurity; results of a decisive importance* may have arisen from accidents which

* Napoleon was very much blamed, by myself as well as others, for having rejected the offers of peace at Dresden. I was then ignorant of the accident which occurred to him at *Pirna*, by which the Allies gained time enough to annihilate General

would have counteracted the soundest views and the best concerted plans. Judging according to appearance only, we should blame that which is

Vandamme, at the battle of Culm. Had this misfortune not befallen him, Napoleon, penetrating into the heart of Bohemia, with the army which had miraculously conquered at Dresden, would have cut the remains of the allied forces in pieces, and have placed the Coalition at his feet; Vandamme had taken more than fifteen thousand prisoners, Marshal Saint-Cyr drove the enemy before him, and the army, headed by Napoleon, would have completed their destruction. After having breakfasted at Pirna, he remounted his horse, but was obliged to be carried to Dresden in consequence of a violent fit of vomiting which attacked him; he departed without issuing any orders for the ulterior march of the army, which consequently retained its position, and, during this time, the corps of Vandamme was destroyed by the Allies. Napoleon suffered so much that he remained twenty-four hours at Dresden, incapable of motion; on his recovery, he learned the disaster of Culm. "*On what a slight thread,*" exclaimed he, "*depends the destiny of the world!*" This is one of those occurrences which entirely change the nature of an affair, and even that of history. Placing this event out of the question, it would have been madness to have refused peace at Dresden, but with it, the case becomes very different. Without the accident at Pirna, that which was his ruin, would have restored to him twice the quantum of power which he possessed before; that which exposed him to censure, would have ranked him as a genius of the most elevated class, the most inflexible, and the most fertile in resources. It was not from the love of war, nor from the desire of acquiring a little more territory, that Napoleon would not accept of peace at Dresden, but because peace placed an eternal Coalition before him, to which he would have to account continually, which would prescribe limits to him, and exercise a constant controul over him; he saw that peace deprived him of the dictatorship he had hitherto exercised over Europe, and of the infallibility which constituted his strength; he thereby felt

deserving of praise, and often of admiration, and we should praise that which is deserving of censure. We must therefore wait for the publication of those materials from which we shall derive the indispensable information, the authenticity of which will be guaranteed by the quality of the authors, before we can establish a sound judgment, grounded upon the truth of events, which is the basis of every good history. We may believe, there are many men employed upon this work: let us hope that all those who possess talent and conscience will aid in the formation of this great undertaking. It is connected with the diffusion of the knowledge of our times, such as they really are, and not such as they are represented by self-interested persons and by romance writers. This concurrence would be both useful and glorious.

There are very few actors on the theatre of the world, and often somewhat below it, whose por-

himself weakened both internally and externally, that is to say, destroyed, reduced to an existence different from that he had enjoyed up to that time; and it was this existence in its full extent that he defended, under pain of losing it entirely. It was necessary that he should be all that he had been, or that he should cease to exist; this was the reason that induced him to refuse the peace at Chatillon. Two questions here present themselves; Did he take up a good position? And this once established, ought he to have changed it? The first was praised for a long time, misfortune has caused its re-examination, and it is from this that the reflections on the second date their origin.

traits have not been sketched, but if these historical subjects are rare, so are the painters in this branch. No portrait can be more tempting than that of Napoleon, it is so by the grandeur, the number and the singularity of the events, by the originality and the contrasts in the character of the actor, the difficulty itself is a temptation to undertake it, but this difficulty will very speedily warn those who are rash enough to enter upon it, that it includes something which is beyond the strength of common men. In order to determine the composition of an amalgamation, which presents *the infirmity of human nature* in all its various degrees, even from the highest to the very lowest, to penetrate into the windings of this sinuous character and to discover the elements of which its surprising contrasts are composed; to do this, it is necessary to combine extreme sagacity with great comprehensiveness; a subject without model, requires a painter without equal. The task imposed upon the painter of Napoleon, is grand and novel; he will not have to depict a man, born under the shelter of a throne, not a patrician, not a citizen, whom his country already empowers by all the means which social positions accord, who conquers his country like Cesar, or regenerates it like Peter the Great, who raises and glorifies it like Frederic, who seizes it for an instant like Fiesco, or who subjugates it by the coarse hands of a fanatic soldiery, like

Cromwell, nor a ferocious conqueror like Tamerlane or Gengistkan, driving their pillage and blood-thirsty hordes against savage or enervated nations ; but he will have to depict a man, whom nature has not favored with any external advantage ; whom fortune has passed by in the distribution of her favours ; who is consequently deprived of these two sources of power among mankind ; who is brought forth in an unknown, even an ill-reputed country ; who is recommended by no predecessors ; who is protected by no ties of blood ; who is formed by no experience, a man who enters upon his career on throwing off the garb of youth, and quits it at a time when others generally begin it ; who is carried towards power by the caprice of fortune, and introduced by mere chance ; and who, from the first moment that he approaches it, wrests it from the hands of others to grasp it in his own, who commands with the same authority the first day as the last, under a tent as on a throne ; who imposes upon all without possessing anything imposing himself ; who stamps every thing with the seal of originality and of *grandiso*, the whole of which is to be found only in the recesses of his mind ; who holds the language of military and political, religious and moral inspiration to astonished Europe ; makes himself the director of those whom his sword exterminates, and dazzles with its lightning as he pierces them with its point ; who strikes, punishes, parcels out king-

doms and republics, Turks and Christians; who plays with sceptres, writes treaties with his sword, forms codes of laws in the midst of the snares of policy and the tumult of arms; who destroys a revolution which had destroyed every thing, and binds it to the system it had annihilated; reconducts an anarchical republic to an undisputed monarchy; rekindles the ashes of the throne and of St. Denis; binds destruction to strong, stable and novel creations, and extricates a great nation from civil discord by the brilliant prodigality of victories; who, born under an humble roof, raises and inhabits the most sumptuous palaces, triumphs over men who are his equals in civilisation, and here the grand difficulty consists; who gives to civilisation the greatest possible impulse, and introduces it into the elements of his power; who little thinking that it will be the means of his destruction, if he opposes or strays from it; and, forgetting his accustomed prudence, precipitates the car which he had hitherto guided with a hand as sure as it was bold, headlong into the abyss beneath. This is the task the biographer will have to perform; he will have to distinguish the elements which were at once the cause of his greatness and of his downfall. This will be the trial of his skill, and by this, his pretensions as a painter will be estimated and examined. A blind man may see the wings of Napoleon, but a penetrating eye alone can perceive the nature of the wax, by

which they are fastened to his body, and of the fire which, by dissolving and separating them from him, caused him to fall to the ground. He fell like the eagle; wearied with the length of an uncertain flight across the ocean.

But to speak plainly, Napoleon has hitherto been, as it were, tossed about between exaggeration and depreciation, the consequences of opposing feelings, or interests; he was as yet too much within our view, and we too much within his. In order to be perfectly just, we ought to be in the same situation, as the dead are in regard to each other; the grave is the only place where men find that justice which the world rarely allows. Men, in our days, are seldom solicitous to write for the truth, but are very often so, in favour of that which they love, or against that which they believe they hate. It is thus, that Napoleon has hitherto been appreciated. Some, forgetting the distance between the little residence of Ajaccio, and the vast palace of the Tuileries, and not considering the efforts requisite to overcome it, viewed him only as an upstart soldier, as a sword, transformed into a sceptre, borne with disgrace and severity; while others, forgetting in their turn, the distance that separates the Tuileries from St. Helena, have determined to see in him a mighty giant, a sun without spots, a miracle without any mixture of hu-

man attributes ; the nature of man does not admit of those absolute beings, it resembles that of the universe, the perfection of which arises from the mixture and contrast of its parts. Justice and truth are placed in the just medium of things ; the one half of a life does not destroy the other, and the most splendid talents are reconcilable with the grossest faults. Pompey, the conqueror of Pharsalia died miserably on the shores of Egypt after having governed and ennobled Rome during thirty years ; History has not refused to him the title of Great. The star of Charles XII. was eclipsed at Paltawa, and the conqueror of Nerva, became no better than a madman ; and yet who denies him the greatness which for ten years imposed upon Europe ? A few days more and Cromwell would have come to a deplorable end, but death held out his assisting hand to him in his embarrassment. Charles V. wandering about on the sandy shores of Tunis, in consequence of his having despised the mature experience of Doria, and being surprized at Inspruck by a simple elector of Saxony, represents Napoleon, flying from Moscow to the Beresina, and from Leipsic to Paris. Have these heroes been denied those high qualities, which raise some men above their fellows ? If thus to elevate one's self above them, to govern them, to make them renounce their own will ; and, as it were, give up their own existence, to be identified in one's own ; if this is

being great, Napoleon was great, and has never been surpassed ; no one, from so humble a commencement has attained such a height ; no one has seized human nature and forced it into the way, which he marked out for himself, with greater facility and firmness ; no one has formed the yoke in such a manner as to give it a more natural or more voluntary appearance. What I say is merely historical. Napoleon was born to command ; to direct and to conduct was his instinct, to follow was his repugnance ; he was an admirable chief, a miserable follower ; but such Nature had made him. With respect to the art of conducting men, he occupied the same position that Rousseau did in instructing them by writing ; they were both geniuses, incompatible with all external authority, following ways calculated for themselves exclusively, astonishing both by their greatness and their contrasts ; better and different from their fellow creatures, if not without equals at least without parallel ; results of those amalgamations created by Nature's frolicks, in which the good compensates for the evil, and the displacing of a single grain of which, would derange the whole combination. If any thing is to be complained of in this, it is nature, for here the consideration is not simply of the man, but of the thing. Napoleon was not only a man, as many men pretend, who only see half way, but he was also a very great event. Whoever denies

greatness to him, should profit by the occasion to deny genius to Rousseau; those, whom he offends as a monument of history, have only to level St. Peter's at Rome to the ground; by whom then will this difficult, and almost impracticable portrait be painted? This is a model which has not yet existed, where does the man exist, who will undertake this almost ideal novelty? Continued contrasts require striking colors, but they must be distributed wisely, so that oppositions may not become contradictions; the most devouring activity must be painted, accompanied by long intervals of rest, the most rapid execution by the most tardy decision in the most trivial matters; aptness, which accomplished every thing, realized every thing before the age which could have learnt any thing—the little games of a child, in the midst of plans and ideas which encircled and shook the globe—the tone of the *camerade* succeeding without interval to those words of command, which spread silence over the earth—the *coup d'œil* that comprehended an immense extent, and the facility of descending to the minutest details—a memory that did not bend under the mass of names, of acts and of the greatest variety of circumstances—a presence of mind, which reproduced in its proper colours and in its natural state, whatever had once arrested its attention—the most violent agitation in the midst of the most profound calm—an

unalterable pulse* in the midst of transports of the most violent rage—a philosophical contempt for grandeur, accompanied by the most ardent labours to acquire it—the most eminent wisdom with the falsest illusions—according to the English expression, generous as the sun and able in calculation—magnificent as a king in his palace, and as economical as a Dutchman, recalling Montesquieu's observation, with respect to Charlemagne, who, after having distributed the riches of the world, sold the vegetables out of his garden—wishing to touch realities, to ensure himself of them, and giving way to fictions; at once, Tacitus and Machiavel. He who would depict this model, must arrange his colours on the pallet, as Nature had arranged those inimical faculties in a manner both harmonious and discordant; above all, he must touch upon the false chord, which always prevented a golden instrument from playing per-

* This is literally true: the blood circulated with such an extraordinary slowness in Napoleon, that his pulse seldom beat more than thirty in a minute. Once, at the conclusion of a very warm discussion, he told me, that however agitated he might appear, yet it never affected him inwardly; upon which he held out his arm, and, notwithstanding my resistance to so unexpected a wish, obliged me to feel his pulse—it was like that of a little child. Napoleon spoke freely of his person and of the circumstances preceding his greatness.

fectly true, and which has troubled the harmony of the whole.

Hoc opus, hic labor.

I have endeavoured to discover to which writer of ancient or modern times, the portrait of Napoleon could be confided with the greatest probability of success. I shall only account for my own feeling, to which I am far from attaching the slightest importance. The wise and systematic Plutarch excels in sense, and in coolness ; there is more activity and flexibility required in portraying Napoleon ; Titus Livius paints from fancy as he arranges speeches from pure imagination ; Tacitus, with his ordinary profundity and conciseness, has traced little more than the monotony of crime and baseness, in his pictures of those who committed them, and those who could suffer them without being disgusted with them.

The paucity is still greater among the moderns.

If I am not mistaken, the Cardinal de Retz is placed on the first rank of historical painters. He is the Raphael of fictions, and has placed his own mind in his pictures ; more subtle than elevated, fitter to unravel than to measure, he is wanting in the grand and magnificent propor-

tions, and it is this grandeur, united to sagacity, that is required in this case. The pen of Saint Simon sometimes draws happy expressions from the gall it is dipped in, or images, more likely to inflict deep wounds, and to entertain malice, than to represent objects or to instruct the mind; he is the prince of caustic subjects, but he is not the secretary to the historic muse. Brantôme is a lively, versatile narrator, but does not rise beyond this secondary character, and the present requires one of the first order. Rhulières dilutes rather than depicts; his genius is lively and keen, faculties of the second rank, but he is wanting in profundity, and his touch is deficient in vigour; he dilates into ten pages what a vigorous hand would compress into one, and the countenance of Napoleon ought to be contained within this narrow compass, and fill the whole space, it being itself comprised in full within it.

Bossuet, with his *os magna sonaturum*, and his Isaical style, would suffer details and shades to escape him, as the Colossus of Rhodes permitted vessels to pass between his legs; he was in too elevated a position to see them; he would have displaced the scene, and would have attributed what has taken place between weak mortals to Heaven and the arm of the Almighty. It is the inclination of his genius, it carries him on high.

The funeral oration of Louis XIV. has placed Massillon quite out of the question; whoever excels in miniature is not calculated to pourtray history; continual grace, softness, purity, and shrewdness are precious gifts, but they are not equal to every subject, and particularly not to this.

Who then will undertake this portrait? Of this I am ignorant; it is the secret of time, and I am not gifted with the power of discovering it. Who would have been able to do it? is a different consideration. May I be permitted, at my own risk and peril, to venture to pronounce upon this question; although the recollection of some injustice on the part of the painter against the model, may be alleged in favor of the impossibility of justice being done on the part of the former—this allegation I anticipate, yet this does not prevent me from saying that Madame de Staël would have been the person. Before I am condemned, I request that I may be heard.

We cannot, generally speaking, be well appreciated but by those who have something in common with ourselves; that we may mutually estimate each other, it is requisite that the characters should, on some points, be similar; grandeur, originality, and comprehensiveness will be better felt and better defined by the corresponding

qualities, than by mediocrity and regularity; the historian ought to be, in regard to his subject, what a mirror is to the objects which it reflects. A character composed of different gradations can only be well understood by a mind endowed with great flexibility; a man would introduce too many straight lines into it, and would destroy it by a continued harshness; he would place the honor of the sex in every thing that was great and forcible; but, in this instance, this would only be half the labour, and the least precious portion; a woman, gifted with the mind of a man, would instil into it the suppleness of her own organization, would place the contrasts and inequalities in a more striking light, of which the female sex has a finer perception than ours, because they belong more to its character, than it does to that of the man; their more piercing eye would penetrate into the secret recesses, which the less refined sight of man would scarcely perceive. The portrait of Napoleon appears therefore to have been destined by nature for the pen of a woman; if, according to the beautiful expression of Rousseau, *the hand of woman be worthy to touch the helmet of Hector*. If any such has existed, it assuredly was Madame de Staël. Who is there, in her whole sex, that could have supplied her place? If she were alive, she would have undertaken this work, she could not have resisted the pleasure of measuring her powers with such an object, the

temptation would have ensued from the conviction of the difficulty itself. At a distance from him by whom she believed herself injured, in the face of history and of posterity, and as careful of her own reputation as of that of her model, she would only have admitted those colours and those traits into her work, which history admits and consecrates. She would have laid on one side those monuments which her grief rather than her judgment has left us, and thus freed from the shackles which human nature sometimes imposes upon genius, her own would have expanded by that she would have had to depict; the whole treasures of her genius would then have developed themselves, and her efforts might perhaps have discovered some new and precious veins, which will now remain lost to herself and to the universe.*

Napoleon and Madame de Staël could not sympathize during their life, they were two rival powers; Napoleon was not a Roman emperor,

* A very pardonable sensibility in a woman, accustomed to the most distinguished respect of society, may exaggerate, in her own opinion, the nature of a persecution, for this word must be used in the absence of another, and it cannot be disavowed, a persecution which is always grievous and unjust, and the unpleasantness of which may as often be produced by the baseness of men who aspire to flatter, by over-rating the ill-treatment of which they are the instruments, as by the intention of him who is the cause of them.

admitting an associate in the empire, and Madame de Staël, who, by her sex, was excluded from the character of Augustus, wished to be, and assumed every where that of *Cæsar*. Modern thrones do not admit of any partitions. Napoleon defended the salique law against an usurpation which threatened the change of the French sceptre into a distaff. Napoleon did not personally hate Madame de Staël, a man of his genius could not hate genius in any person; he feared it when he could not subjugate it;* it was its independence that he was apprehensive of. He felt that the talents of Madame de Staël were too great to be made the means of power in favor of another, and this power was the object which he coveted entirely for himself; her persecution was a homage rendered to acknowledged superiority, by himself. What a pity it is that the means employed have sometimes been unworthy of the priest and of the victim! He pursued a powerful and undisciplined genius like a jealous and rejected lover. Napoleon was well aware of the nature and of the vulnerable parts of his empire over France and over Europe. He had extricated a nation from a lasting Saturnalia; he had founded an empire at the

* Upon any person's making a new or striking observation to Napoleon, he would sometimes say with evident marks of chagrin, Where did you get that? Who told it you? He seemed to imagine, that to think of that which had escaped him, was a species of theft, or rather that thought was his exclusive right.

price of great labour and of much blood; he had brought back a nation to that reverence of authority which had been forgotten; he had to make men, who were accustomed to look gaily upon things, consider almost every thing attentively; he had to act upon the opinion of the world, which was the seat of his power; he had to restrain the eyes from looking into the laboratory, where the thunders of his powers were forging; he knew that *there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous*, and that if the sublime were his throne, the ridiculous would be his grave. In this constrained posture of defence, Napoleon could not remain exposed to those cutting and profound expressions, which form the spirit of a people by flying from mouth to mouth; he was interdicted from remaining in subjection to the too certain action of these subtile dissolvents. Napoleon did not conceal from himself that the wit of a *bon-mot* had more influence upon Frenchmen than the fire of a battalion, and he had seen that the quiver of Madame de Staël contained some of those arrows that can wound *a man seated on a rain-bow*. Madame de Staël resembled some of Homer's warriors at the siege of Troy, who would reach the Gods even in the skies, and Napoleon, reigning in France, had no inclination to recommence the Trojan war. He would have exiled Rivarol, the father of *bon-mots*, as he did Madame de Staël, and for the same reason, that of a powerful and un-

disciplined mind. Under him, it was necessary that the mind should be at his disposal, or that it should depart his dominions. Every superiority that rebelled against his empire obscured him, and shewed him a possible enemy in a subject, who was refractory to his commands; he attacked him then hand to hand. If Napoleon treated Madame de Staël as Diomedé did the mother of the Graces, Madame de Staël, on her side, treated Napoleon and a portion of his subjects as Juno did the inhabitants of those walls within which her beauty was not acknowledged. There was an exchange of severity and injustice between Napoleon and Madame de Staël. If there were now but one tomb raised between them, Madame de Staël, freed from the impressions of the momentary wound, and solely occupied with the interests of truth, of justice, and of posterity, which called for the employment of her talents, would have forced herself to answer this noble appeal, and would have furnished us with a picture which would have occupied that place in history, which Ajax filled among the Greeks; this is another motive for regret at a loss which friendship is not alone bound to deplore. In the présent system of society, a person who filled Madame de Staël's place in European existence, was a real force, a firm bulwark against power; the ancient French society possessed some of these social powers, with whom the government treated, and who

formed a centre, around which the weak grouped together and formed a union, which influenced the former ; but these have disappeared from amongst us. All is individualized, particularized, and, as it were, cut into small pieces. Power, therefore effects nearly all its purposes, having only to treat with isolated individuals, incapable of any resistance, because they can perceive no point on which they can support themselves. The presence alone of Madame de Staël would perhaps have held some of the agents of power in awe, who run blindfold both upon their own ruin.

I have less interest than any other, in supplying the deficiency I have mentioned. I shall not be rash enough to say how the portrait of Napoleon should be drawn ; not being able to point out the track that should be followed, I may at least describe the rocks.

All comparisons should be avoided, for this is the action of little minds ; one difference annihilates a thousand resemblances, and one point is sufficient to turn a *pebble of the Rhine* into a diamond. Napoleon was a man, he has paid deeply the tribute to human nature, and there is much with which to reproach him. Let then these reproaches be heaped upon him, but let them be taken from the grandeur of the character he acted, worthy of him, of ourselves and of history. Let us extricate

ourselves from the ruts of littleness and of trivialities, into which we have continually been dragged. There are some men, who are only capable of covering the pedestals of monuments and of statues with filth. I believe myself to be free from reproach, in having laboured thus far to detach one grain from this column, and also in having added a single one to it. Every thing that I have said has been with a desire for justice, and with calmness. As then there is reason to accuse Napoleon, I will place myself at the head of his accusers, and will march against him. Reproach him for having lessened Prussia in the presence of Russia,—for having divided Italy,—for Belgium and the Rhine having passed under other laws, and for the repeated presence of foreigners at Paris,—for having sent Charles and Ferdinand to Valençay, instead of sending them to *Lima* and *Mexico*. These are broad grounds of accusation, because they are connected with those of the political system of the world, which has been turned from its course by these errors, omissions and oversights. Above all, make him account for the fresh struggles which the human mind, the unexpected deposit of which was confided to him by fate, has been exposed to by his fall; there are some things, which ought perhaps not to be begun, but which must be brought to an end when once entered upon; there are positions, from which too many things fall with him, who is not

capable of guarding them, to place their preservation upon chance. Napoleon has been guilty of all this, let it be reproached to him, nothing can be more just; add to them, the moats of Vincennes, the prisons of Valençay and of Savona; we shall all agree with you in deploring or detesting these aberrations; but, more just and more submissive to history, we shall say, that England did not degrade her Elizabeth for having sacrificed the unfortunate Maria Stuart to female jealousy, or for having set the example of raising the axe against a royal head. Charles V. confined a pope in Rome itself.—Napoleon did not commit the unworthy farce of putting up prayers for the deliverance of him, whom he had secured under his bolts; and yet Charles is, after Charlemagne, the most eminent of the princes, who have possessed this name. The descendants of those knights, who refer every thing to God and to their ladies, must have witnessed with grief the outrage committed on the Queen, who ornamented the throne of Prussia; but Napoleon considered her as the author and instigator of the war, which had been declared against him, and he could not suffer women to lay aside the distaff for the sword. His proclamations after the victory of Jena, are filled with reproaches upon this interference in the character of females, who are restricted by their weakness, to domestic duties. He insulted the author of the war, and not the

Queen. At Tilsit, he overpowered her with the testimonies of his respect, as a reparation for his former impetuosity. And besides, setting aside all compliments, a declaration of war is worthy of consideration. Is it necessary to return thanks to those, who direct an attack against us by all the world, who labour to destroy us, and who expose the lives of thousands of men? It might really be supposed, that the most serious affairs of State are to be treated according to the rules of etiquette, or as in a saloon, or at a grand ball. Napoleon was intoxicated, but consider the cup of power out of which he drank, and the clouds of incense by which he was surrounded. He placed great confidence in himself, he believed himself superior to error; twenty years of success had swollen his heart and thickened the veil of pride over his eyes, which more or less covers those of every mortal. Napoleon lost his way, but was it not in a forest of laurels? Napoleon was violent, was outrageous, but his passion did not deprive Clytus of existence; his sobriety did not permit the rekindling of the fires of Persepolis; his temperance preserved him from running like Cæsar after Cleopatra, and from losing in the sighs of a whole year, the time sufficient to insure the conquest of the universe, which Pharsalia had delivered to him. Those cries have not been heard around his triumphal car, which the soldiers sent forth round that of the Roman conqueror, when the

honor of his nuptial bed was in danger; nor have we witnessed that train, by which our throne has been too often surrounded, around that of the man who possessed so many means of satisfying, and of introducing his voluptuous inclinations into vogue; he knew how to maintain his court without public scandal, as well as without secret intrigues.

Cease then to raise those cries of cowardice against him, who has alone been exposed to more fire than Condé, Turenne and Villars united together. Treat him no longer as a deserter, who quitted the precarious ground of Egypt for the more solid one of France; Cæsar did not desert when he went to seek those legions, which assisted him to conquer; Napoleon was not taken by pirates on the voyage; he did not desert from Wilna, where there no longer existed any army, and when he absented himself from the two miserable wrecks, in search of those young soldiers, who conquered under him at Lutzen, at Wurchen and at Dresden, in order to force victory to honor the bills he had drawn upon her, and which she had not as yet dared to protest.* But above all,

* Passing through Warsaw, Napoleon said, "I go to seek 300,000 men; success will make the Russians hazardous, I will give them two battles between the Elbe and the Oder, and in six months I shall be on the borders of the Niemen again.

Lutzen, 2nd May; Wurchen, 21st May; entered Breslaw on

let an end be put to the cries of illegitimacy, of usurpation and of tyranny,—let us wait until the theory of these accusations be well defined, and do not let us summon Europe on his trial; Mr. de Fontanes, *in the name of the legislative body*, said to him, *that he had dethroned anarchy alone*; the hand of Napoleon did not tear off the royal diadem of France, he raised it to the field of battle, which has always been the birth-place of thrones; for a considerable period our ancestors, the Germans, brought up their kings on a shield. Who can be aware of what event, what motive determined him to retain in his own hands, that which he is reproached with not having restored? He has often told me, but I shall not repeat it to his accusers.

Frenchmen! he has entailed great evils, and has conferred great benefits upon you, let these efface the others from your memory, and in recompense for the latter, let his ashes rest in peace. He wanted to make you the chiefs, and not the masters of Europe. Rome did not insult those citizens, who made nations obedient to her; he drew all Europe to Paris, but during fifteen years they came there to receive the word of command. You live in the circle of those ornaments, with which he embellished your capital, which he was

the Oder, on the 6th June, with conscripts and without cavalry; this may be called keeping promises.

desirous of rendering the first city of the universe, and in which your looks, sorrowing over their suspension, call for the prosecution of his undertakings. *Reflect that*, more careful of French honor, than your ancient kings had been, he only laid down his arms to the King of Great Britain, on the honorable condition, that the great title of King of France should in future be borne only by a French Monarch. He gave an impulse to industry, he freed it from a foreign yoke by a combination which belongs to himself alone ; from the recesses of the tomb he pursues the war, at once cruel and innocent, that he carried on against England ; he pressed heavily upon you, he kept you in silence ; but consider, whether it was by the intricacies of political debates, that the great Lewis acquired the power, that created his armies, his ports, his arts and his palaces ; see whether Peter and Frederic, the creators or restorers of their nations, were not obliged to add to the weight of their own arm, and to confide in it alone. Regularity is the appendage of settled things, and of quiet times ; grandeur is often encumbered by rules, however necessary the latter may be.

A life, replete with more high deeds than those of any ten historical personages, cannot be considered as a burthen upon a nation, nor is it so heavy as to induce it to shake it off. The world

is struck with astonishment, at seeing you endeavour to reduce the list of your great men.

Oh, St. Helena! cast off the name which would have left you in obscurity, and adopt the name of him whose presence, as it were, revealed your existence to the universe; defend his tomb from the fires of the equator, by favouring the growth of laurels around it, for this tree was familiar to him whom it shades. Watch this great wreck with care, for fate has not reserved one that can replace it.

Engrave upon the marble that is placed over it, Here lies one who raised himself from an obscure situation to the greatest throne of the world. He astonished and shook the world, and fell here. Passenger, whoever thou art, reflect upon the tomb of Napoleon; and what man is, shall never be effaced from thy mind.

I have traced these lines, free from any motive of personal interest, of hatred, of love, or of appealing to useless recollections. I only aspire to prepare more just and broader paths to justice than those which have hitherto been opened to it; and after having given an outline of the public man, I will add something with respect to the private man, in order to give the finishing touch to this sketch. He was very imperfectly known;

he has been described as a species of man-eater, as a rough and brutal soldier. Nothing can be more false. Napoléon was a tender and indulgent husband; an impassioned father; as a relation, his kindred were fatal to him; he was a sure and lasting friend, and the best of masters; he was turbulent, but did not strike. The stormy cloud was dissipated in a shower of hail, a tempest of words, to which he himself did not attach any importance. I have heard him say, at the conclusion of one of the most violent paroxysms of rage against one of his relations, *Unfortunate creature! he makes me utter what I do not believe, and what I never ought to say.* When the moment was past, he recalled those whom he had sent away, and made advances to those whom he believed he had offended. This I have myself experienced. His appearance was very imposing in the morning, when he issued his orders for the day; but in the evening, fatigue and the negligence of his dress, gave him another character. His conversation sparkled with peculiar touches, attracted by its singularity, and by the facility with which he found a thousand unexpected relations. A single word was sufficient to unfold his wings; he then became a giant, whose every stride covered mountains. Napoleon attached the greatest value to secrecy, and often gave way to the most inconceivable indiscretion, with regard to himself and his projects. He suf-

ferred things to escape him, which one would have trembled to hear from any other mouth than his. He denied himself nothing when he once began. In the drawing-room, he was the same as at the head of an army, always in action, in the van, and on the offensive. He was fond of discussion, but, as he had not any time to read, he learned by listening to others, and appropriated what he heard to himself, so as to give it a new form, and make it his own. It was thus he filled one-half of the discussions on the civil code, which he had never heard spoken of before. His powers were immense, and it might be asked, whether he had more mind than genius, which is only another name for mind applied to great things. Not a day passed without his uttering something worthy of observation. No one ever listened more attentively, no one ever testified a more encouraging forbearance at an audience. Every thing might be said to him, but it was necessary to avoid the folly of shewing that he was not understood; for he never resumed it. A word, a trifle decided his opinion of a man; he was tenacious of those which he had once formed. Talking was his delight. He lost more time in conversation than he employed in action. It was also another power to him, he felt his own strength, and knew that people rarely left him without being subjugated, dazzled, convinced, or conquered; and this was the reason why he always sought inter-

views with princes, and all men possessed of power, either in fact or in opinion. He flattered himself, that few could resist the voice of the Syren. His manners and his expressions very often did not correspond with the elevation of his rank; but it is not true, that he ever designedly held the language which has been imputed to him, and particularly towards a sex which always receives, amongst us, every respect, in recompense for the want of power. He never attacked in this manner, he was always on the defensive. He sometimes revenged himself severely, opposing sarcasm to sarcasm; and which, falling from above, was of great weight. But let those persons who were the objects of them, look within themselves, and ascertain their reasons for visiting his palaces; and ask, whether they did not provoke those retaliations, which they afterwards related in the faubourg St. Germain, as unmannerly attacks? I was a great deal about the person of Napoleon, and never remarked any thing in him that belonged to the character of a malicious man. He possessed all the qualities and all the defects of a violent and forcible character. He was internally kind, even gay, and sometimes childish. I have seen him repeatedly with his first wife, and the children of his brothers and sisters, give himself up to the lively and animated joy of infancy. When he had a son, there were no limits to this playfulness; it was neces-

sary sometimes to take him away from him, his joy was so violent. This is not the character of malice. A man who united malice to so great a power would be a monster. They who can take pleasure in propagating imputations, which are in opposition to the order of nature, can only be enemies, blinded by rage. It very seldom happens that men, who are occupied with great things, are malicious, for it is the peculiar property of little minds. Malice and insignificance may be well reconciled together, but not malice and greatness. The evil Napoleon did was done geometrically, and according to a just or false political calculation, but did not arise from perverse inclination. He several times said to me, *I am not malicious; but woe to him who places himself in the way of the wheels of my political car, when it is once set in motion!** This is the military chief who always looks upon the world as an army to be beaten, but not, therefore, hating it. Nor have the conquerors, from Sesostris down to himself, ever held any other language. As I shall not again have occasion to speak of Napoleon at any length, I shall avail myself of this opportunity of clearing up a trait in his history, which

* Did not the Cardinal de Richelieu, who was not a conqueror on the field of battle, but in the Cabinet, say, Previous to an undertaking, I look around me on all sides; but the resolution once taken, I overturn every thing, and then I cover it with my great scarlet mantle.

has been very little known, or very much misrepresented. It will also give an idea of the occurrences that took place at that time, for it is not the only attempt of the kind that was directed against Napoleon. From the time of the infernal machine, he was surrounded by the conspiracies of some, and by the constant coalitions of others. He has defended himself more than he has attacked others. Treaties and alliances were broken the day after they were signed. In the *History of the Spanish Revolution*, I have shewn, that Napoleon received the proclamation of the Prince of Peace, on the field of battle of Jena, in which he calls to arms the whole of Spain, with which country he had been in alliance for twelve years. A fortnight after the signing of the articles of peace, in 1805, Naples joined the coalition, which was destroyed at Austerlitz. I received the document I am about to present to my readers, from an undoubted source, viz. General Rapp, a Peer of France, and Aid-de-camp to Napoleon, who uses these words in his letter of the 20th February, 1820, in which he transmitted it to me, You will make *such use of it as you may think proper*.* The documents are in my possession. I have wielded the weapon. Can one, after such a perusal, be astonished at the pa-

* See the document, at the end of the chapter.

roxymys of anger and of bad temper in him, who saw himself exposed to similar attacks? He knew that the ambassadors were constantly watching him. Count Czernicheff, who was for several years accredited at his Court in the most intimate manner, and who was warned by him to conduct himself with uprightness, notwithstanding the most solemn protestations, was seen to decamp, after having introduced corruption into the war department, and having cost the life of the *Clerk Michel*. Other instances might be quoted. He knew that there were some men who employed all their time in collecting little tales, with which they afterwards entertained the faubourg St. Germain. In one of those moments of violence, in which he unburthened his secret thoughts, I heard him say, *There is not, amongst all the emigrants, notwithstanding all I have done for them, there is not one who exercises good faith towards me, not even yourself*, added he, turning to me; and yet I did, and he knew the ground he trod upon. When men accuse others, they ought to begin by acquainting themselves with the situations in which they have found themselves placed. Numbers have blackened, have cruelly mangled Napoleon, have made it their amusement, and, as it were, their business, and he has not touched them; he has deprived them of nothing, he has promoted them. An offence,

an injury once pardoned, was with him a thing blotted out, and leaving no trace behind—a great and safe mode of action.

Cesar and Frederic wrote the history of their times, and it has been often asserted, that Napoleon had written his; many things have even appeared with his name, but they have been contradicted. It is not difficult to fill a few sheets with what a man has said, or may have said, who has done and spoken so much, and that often in a manner so remarkable and so easy to be retained. The *Mémoires de Sainte Hélène* must have been compiled in this manner. But this is not the work of Napoleon himself, and that is the thing which is required. Several questions present themselves at this place. What advantages can be reaped or lost by what Napoleon has or has not written? Was Napoleon capable of writing?

Certainly a work by Napoleon could alone discover a multitude of facts, of circumstances, and anecdotes, the loss of which could not be too much regretted, and which Napoleon was alone acquainted with; a great number of reflections and explanations would also be lost, which would give a perfectly different character to affairs and consequently to history, to that which it would receive from the hands of common narrators. And who

could represent the attributes, which characterized his mind, in a more lively manner than himself? Who could reproduce those expressions which were so original, so lively and so poignant even in their incorrectness? This would be impossible, they cannot be communicated, the like originals exclude copies entirely. In this respect the loss will be great and irreparable; on the other hand, was Napoleon so far removed from his times, and from himself, as to be so cool in his judgment as the nature of such a composition requires? Had the nerve entirely ceased to vibrate, which had been set in motion by so many different agitating causes? Was there not a feeble motion still remaining? And with the weight of so many errors, might he not have yielded to the desire of excusing himself? Occupied with the subject as all ardent minds are, would he not sometimes have been drawn, nay even subjugated by it, and would he not have incorporated fictions, which had taken strong hold upon his mind? Would he not have created to himself persuasions, to which he was subject? Would the style of Ossian, those extravagant inspirations, that figurative language which was introduced into Europe from the East, and which produced so much effect under an immense power and under the sanction of victory, have obtained as much during the adversity of the author, when they were unaccompanied by the retinue which

had exalted them? Can a thing which has been once said, be always said? Can that which occupies only the short interval of time that is embraced by the expression, also fill up the whole duration of the time that the perusal requires and permits? Can that, which attracts for a time, exercise a lengthened dominion; and would not correctness, after having for an instant forgotten her rights, reclaim them afterwards with severity? Compilations are the grave of almost all writers; Frederic would be better described in four volumes than in twenty; Cesar has only one, but it is a golden one. Compilations are like the leaves, which falling one after the other, reduce the tree to the bare trunk. If Napoleon, who is destined to live in the memory of men as long as Frederic or Cesar, have not written more abundantly than the latter, he will have done it more substantially, if, moderate in volume, and compressed within a narrow compass, he has only transmitted his mind to posterity.*

I hope that all reflecting men will discover in the materials, which I have here collected for

* Napoleon always dictated whilst he was walking in his room; he often united several subjects in the same article and extracted them afterwards. He had a very great repugnance to writing; his hand writing was singular, replete with abbreviations and was scarcely legible; he only signed with the two initials and final letters of his name

history, and which has been my sole intention, a perfect conformity with what I have already written, with respect to Napoleon in several of my works. Time has not operated any change in my opinion, it has only softened down some of those expressions, into which I was surprised by the irritation of the moment, and which was naturally produced by existing circumstances. The piece in which they are to be found, was composed in sight of the solemnities, which those conquerors celebrated in the public places in Paris, who have reduced us to the state in which we now are. The *Ambassade de Varsovie* was written whilst the Russians were knocking at the gates of Paris, after two years of frightful misfortunes, and yet I did not publish it till after the aggravation of the 20th of March and the second invasion. I had seen the hostile cannon levelled against the palaces of our Kings, the bridge of Jena mined by the Prussians, the museum pilaged: I saw France on the eve of being dismembered, and our treasury bleeding at all its pores. Mr. de Castelbajac, on recurring to his opinion on the censure, has said, *I cannot talk politics coldly over the icy carcase of a son of France*, nor have I been able to trace characters coolly over the ruins of the greatness of my country.

*Account of the attempt to assassinate Napoleon,
at Schoenbrunn.*

The said Saint, eighteen years old, born at Neuenburgh, son of a Protestant Clergyman, presented himself on the 23rd of October, 1809, on the parade at Schoenbrunn, to assassinate Napoleon. General Rapp was on guard; whilst the troops were defiling, Napoleon was placed between him and Prince Berthier; Saint advanced towards Napoleon, but Berthier placing himself before him, and supposing that he wanted to present a petition to Napoleon, desired him to deliver it to General Rapp. The young man answered, that he wished to speak to Napoleon, but he was not permitted to approach, and was told, that if he had any thing to communicate to him, he must address himself to the Aide-de-camp on guard. Saint retired and repeated pettishly, that he would speak only to Napoleon. A short time afterwards, he advanced again and approached very closely, but General Rapp prevented him, and told him in German to retire, and that if he had any thing to demand, that he would be heard after the parade. He kept his right hand in the side pocket under his great coat. General Rapp perceived a piece of paper hanging out of the pocket, and which Saint kept in his hand.

The General was struck with the manner in which he looked at him; his decided and even insolent manner created some suspicion in him. He called to a Colonel of Gendarmerie, who was near, and desired him to take the young man into custody to the castle, and to search him. Every one's attention being directed to the parade, no one perceived what had taken place. The young Saint was shortly after taken away. The Colonel came back to inform General Rapp, that a large kitchen knife, quite new, had been found upon him, and that from the very decided character of the young man, it could not be doubted that he intended to make use of it against Napoleon.

General Rapp acquainted the Grand Marshal Duroc of this arrest, and they all proceeded to the place where Saint was; he was seated upon a bed, and looked at every one with a resolute air. On one side of him was his portfolio, some letters, a portrait of a young lady, and a purse containing some old louis d'ors. General Rapp asked him his name: I can tell it only to Napoleon. What did you intend to do with this knife? I can tell it only to Napoleon. Did you intend to make use of it against him? Yes. But why? I can only tell it to him.

General Rapp went to acquaint Napoleon with

this event, at which he was very much surprised, and ordered him to bring Saint before him in his Cabinet.

After having issued this order, General Rapp went again to Napoleon, where he found Prince Bernadotte, and the Generals Berthier and Duroc. Saint was brought in by two gendarmes, with his hands tied behind his back; he appeared perfectly calm, nor did the presence of Napoleon make the least impression upon him; he, however, saluted him respectfully. Napoleon asked him whether he spoke French, he answered, very little. Napoleon then desired General Rapp to put the following questions to him. Where do you come from? From Neuenburg. What is your father? A Protestant Clergyman. What age are you? Eighteen. What did you intend to do with this knife? To kill you. Young man, you are either a fool or belong to the sect of the illuminati. I am not a fool nor do I know the meaning of illuminati. You must be ill then? I am not ill, I am perfectly well. Why did you wish to kill me? Because you caused the misfortunes of my country. Have I done you any harm? To me as well as to the rest of the Germans. Who instigated you to commit this crime? No one; it was only from the positive conviction, that I should render the greatest service to my country and to Europe, by killing

you. Is this the first time that you have seen me? I saw you at Erfurth, at the time of the interview. Did not you desire to kill me then? No, because I thought that you would not make war upon Germany again; I was then one of your greatest admirers. How long have you been at Vienna? Ten days. Why have you delayed the execution of your project so long? I came to Schoenbrunn eight days ago with the intention of killing you then, but the parade was just over, and I postponed my intention till to-day. Young man, you are either mad, or you are ill, said Napoleon; let Corvisart be sent for. I am neither mad nor ill; who is Corvisart? Upon being told that he was a doctor, he said, I am not in want of him. Nothing was said until the arrival of the doctor. Saint remained perfectly quiet; Corvisart at length arrived. Napoleon ordered him to feel the young man's pulse. After it had been felt several times, Saint said to the doctor, Is it not true that I am not ill? Upon which the doctor told Napoleon, that the person was in good health, and Saint repeated with great tranquillity, and even with an air of satisfaction, *I said so before*. Napoleon was confused at the confidence of the young man, and began again by the following questions. Your imagination is bewildered and you will cause the unhappiness of your family; I will grant your life, if you will ask pardon for the

crime you were about to commit, and which you must regret.

I want no pardon, and I regret exceedingly that I have not succeeded.

It appears that a crime is not of any consequence in your eyes? To kill you is not a crime, but a duty.

Whose portrait is that which was found upon you?

It is that of a young person whom I love.

She will be very sorry when she hears of this event?

She will be very sorry that I have not succeeded; she abhors you as much as I do myself.

But, however, if I pardon you, will you feel obliged to me?

I warn you, that I shall kill you notwithstanding, at a later period.

Napoleon was thunderstruck at this answer; he ordered the prisoner to be taken away; he was tried and shot.

Napoleon conversed for some time with the persons who were present, chiefly respecting the illuminati. In the evening he sent for General Rapp, and said to him: The event of this day is very extraordinary, this man must have been excited by some one. There is no example of a young man of his age, a German, a Protestant, and well educated, wishing to commit such a crime; I should be sorry to go away without knowing how he behaves at his execution.—He did not reveal any thing, but maintained that it was his own impulse that instigated him to commit this crime; the knife was brought back, and Napoleon desired General Rapp to preserve it—he has it still. He was executed at seven o'clock in the morning, and refused to accept of the provisions that were offered him before he died, saying, I have still sufficient strength to endure torture. He was told that peace had been concluded, he appeared very much pleased at it, and cried out at the moment of his execution, *Vive la Paix, vive l'Allemagne!*

I annex the following account, which I have received from *authority*, 1st, As one of those historical documents, the publication of which I have strongly recommended to those who have engaged in writing the history of our times.

2dly, As being proper to refute, or rather to destroy for ever an atrocious calumny,* which has been propagated during several years, and repeated even within the walls of the Chambers in the last Session. Our honor requires, that the truth should be known, and that silence should be imposed on future calumniators, who will henceforward be rendered inexcusable by the complete demonstration of the truth.

3dly, As a proof of what I have advanced with respect to Napoleon.

The words are taken from M. Duvoisin, formerly Bishop of Nantz. Whoever quotes the Bishop of Nantz, quotes a man, who, to the most enlightened understanding united the most solid and most amiable virtues, and who, by means of these qualities, was enabled to acquire the confidence of the Pope and Napoleon at the time of their warmest disputes. This trait alone suffices for his praise.

“I was at St. Cloud in the beginning of January, 1813, when Napoleon said to me, Would it not be possible to make an arrangement with the Pope?—I cannot reply to that question, Sire,

* Relating to the pretended violence exercised by Napoleon upon the person of the Pope at Fontainebleau.

unless I were precisely acquainted with what your Majesty requires of the Pope. I must know your propositions, before I can form an opinion whether they be of a nature to be accepted by His Holiness.—Sit down there (at a desk) and write ; Napoleon then dictated a tolerably long list of articles. I wrote in silence, but could not help smiling involuntarily at some of them.—You smile, said he, do you think he will refuse that?—The duty of your secretary, Sire, is to write and not permit himself to make any reflections.—The dictation being finished, Napoleon desired me to present the articles to the Pope.

“ On my arrival the next day at Fontainebleau, I was admitted to the presence of the Pope, and received by him with great kindness. I acquainted him with the nature of my commission, and the following conversation ensued.—I have great causes of complaint against your Emperor, said the Pope.—It is very true, most holy Father, but the Emperor also believes himself entitled to complain of your Holiness.—And what has he to complain of?—That I will explain with perfect sincerity, most holy Father, if your Holiness will be pleased to consider my veracity as a proof of my devotion to your person and to your interests, which are those of the whole church.—Speak freely and disguise nothing. I know your sentiments and admire your candour.

“ Most holy Father, you have excommunicated, and that under circumstances which indicated the intention and the desire of injuring, and you have excommunicated from temporal motives. You have endeavoured to organize a clandestine administration in France and in the kingdom of Italy; this is declared inadmissible by the church, and the Emperor may have considered it as a means of undermining his government.

“ But, said the Pope, your Emperor has openly attacked the tenets of the church.—The tenets, most holy Father! how does it happen that none of the Bishops have observed this?—Yes, the tenets, replied the Pope, has he not proscribed or at least rejected the evangelical councils, by excluding the religious societies that admit them as a means of perfection?

“ Most holy Father, the Emperor has sanctioned and does every day sanction several religious congregations, which exist only as congregations by the profession of evangelical councils: thus he adheres to the Catholic faith, which teaches veneration for the evangelical councils. If it were said that these councils were a pernicious doctrine, then the tenets would be attacked. He may be mistaken, perhaps, in excluding some corporations which profess them, from his States, but who appear to be, in other respects, either

useless or dangerous to civil order; but in this he only avails himself of that prerogative which cannot be denied to a Sovereign who does not acknowledge any superior in that portion of his authority.

“ For my own part, said the Pope, I can only discover an opposition to religion, in an exclusion inflicted upon religious orders that have been approved by the church.—In that case, most holy Father, what must we think of several of your predecessors, who have suppressed religious orders?

The Pope remained thoughtful for some moments, and then, breaking silence, he said, Well, holy Bishop of Nantz, what is it you require of me?

“ That you would be pleased, most holy Father, to exert all the efforts consistent with your supreme dignity, to put an end to your captivity, which is so disastrous a scourge to the church, and which is a thousand times more painful to your children than to your own magnanimous heart; the moment for doing this is perhaps arrived. Here is a series of articles which the Emperor dictated to me yesterday, and which he desired me to lay before your Holiness.

“The Pope looked over the paper. Is it possible that this can be proposed to me, and this! said he. But this, most holy Father, and again this!—Oh! I have no objection to the articles you point out.—Most holy Father, may I venture to request your Holiness to retire into your Cabinet, and to take whatever time you may require for reflection, to make your observations on the different articles in the margin? and to write against those which do not present any difficulty, *Adopted*, against those which appear objectionable, *Rejected*, and against those which require explanation, *To be examined*.

“The Pope had the kindness to agree to this proposition, and, after two hours’ reflection, he returned the articles to me, annotated by himself. I returned to St. Cloud, where I found the whole Court in their hunting dresses, they were just going to Grosbois; I was, however, introduced, and delivered the articles, annotated by the Pope, to Napoleon. Upon which he exclaimed, *What! has he rejected this and this!*—It is very true, I replied, but he has admitted this article, which is important, and several others.—Really, it required no great effort to admit things so evident as those!—I don’t understand your Majesty.—You don’t understand me.—No, Sire. Yesterday you did not agree with the Pope upon any one thing, and to-day you have come to an understanding upon

several essential points; this appears to me a pretty good progress. By following up this opening, with a real desire to bring it to a definitive arrangement, it will be easy to agree upon the rest. I am sorry, Sire, that Grosbois is so far from Fontainebleau; a frank and verbal explanation between yourself and the Pope would forward the affair more in half an hour, than a negociation of six months.—We will talk about it another time, said Napoleon.

The next morning I met a duchess of the Court on the bridge of St. Cloud, who said to me, Pray what are you going to do at St. Cloud? You will not find any body there.—Did the Emperor remain at Grosbois then?—No, instead of going to Grosbois yesterday, he went straight to Fontainebleau.—I hastened to communicate this new information to Mr. Bigot de Préameneu, and we both set off, without loss of time, for Fontainebleau.

“ On the one side, I found the Pope, assisted by some of his confidential servants; on the other, Napoleon and several persons of his suite. Every thing bore a peaceable appearance, the conference was opened.—You are just arrived in time, said Napoleon to me, seat yourself at this desk.

“ Every article of the Concordate of 1813, was discussed in succession. The Italians made their observations and the French answered. When the discussion was terminated and the articles agreed upon, the drawing them up was discussed, and when it was settled by common consent, I wrote the article. Napoleon could not entirely contain the satisfaction he felt, which burst forth in spite of all his efforts. He several times altered the terms agreed upon, to dictate others more favorable to the wishes of his Holiness; thus the wording of Art. 2d, as agreed upon, was, The holy Father agrees to the forementioned dispositions, and in the *hope* with which his Majesty has inspired him, &c. I was about to write the word *hope*, when Napoleon stopped me: the word *hope*, said he, is too weak, write, *in the confidence*. -

“ Previous to the discussion, the Pope raised a difficulty. We are, said he, about to draw up a Concordate, which will do away with the changes effected by the invasion of the Roman States, upon which I cannot abandon my claim, and still less the eventual claims of my successors. To prevent my silence on that subject from being interpreted against them, or against myself, I must previously enter a protest, by which I reserve to myself the right of enforcing those claims, according to events. The precaution is just, replied Napoleon, and I do not oppose the protest,

but I think it is not sufficiently dignified. It will be as useful, and more honourable to his Holiness, if I were, in the first instance, to issue an imperial decree, by which I should declare, that, considering the only object of the Concordate refers to the nomination to bishoprics, and to the installation of bishops, no inference can be drawn from it, contrary to the eventual claims of the Popes to the Roman States. The imperial decree was thus drawn up.

“ The drawing up of the Concordate being finished, some one raised a question respecting the order of the signatures; but Napoleon prevented all discussion, by offering to sign alternatively, to which the Pope readily agreed.

“ The Concordate was drawn up in French. It was agreed upon, that it should be translated into Italian, and the translation was placed in the care of his Holiness’ officers.

“ In short, every thing evinced the joy and satisfaction of Napoleon, and the confidence and security of the Pope. It is not probable, that conferences, which were conducted so peaceably as those of the discussion and of the signature, should have been opened by a scene of brutality and fury. I was told, that an interview had taken place between his Holiness and Napoleon,

previous to my arrival at Fontainebleau, that it had lasted half an hour, and that they were quite alone. It is, therefore, impossible to know what passed between them; but it is sufficiently evident, from the calmness of both parties, and from the amicable dispositions they evinced towards each other, that nothing indecent or hostile had occurred during the secret conference.

CHAP. XXI.

AMERICA.

*Taking of Lima. Independence of Peru. Taking of Mexico. Constitutional Mexican Empire. Taking of Carthagen, Spain's last bulwark in America.**

We may be excused, if we indulge in a little exultation at this unheard-of spectacle, which is without example in the universe, and we may be permitted to ask, without offending any one, Is this sufficiently new or grand? Does this speak out enough? Does it sufficiently confound the publicists of Carlsbad, Troppau, Laybach, and

* MONITEUR, 8th November, 1821.

Convention entered into between O'Donoju, Viceroy of Mexico, and Iturbide, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces.

Art. 1st. This part of America shall be independent and sovereign, and shall be called the Mexican empire.

2d. The Government shall be a limited constitutional monarchy.

3d. Ferdinand VIIth, on his arrival in Mexico, shall take possession of the Crown, or, in default thereof, it shall descend to his heirs and successors.

4th. The Emperor shall establish his Court at Mexico, the capital of his empire.

numerous other places, with their grand conspiracies, which they describe as the soul of the present movement of the universe, because they either do not, or will not, comprehend it? Does not this put an end to every species of European empire over America? and does it not entirely change the colonial system, of whatever nature it may be, and whatever districts it may extend to? A constitutional Mexican empire! A European King and all his family, down to the very last of them, invited to leave the country, which gave birth to the conquerors of the throne of Montezuma, and to go and seat themselves in their place!*

* What will the writers of the *Moniteur* and others say now, who, during many years, insulted the Independents of America, and those European writers who took the liberty of expressing some doubts, respecting the issue of the struggle between America and Spain? How they raised their voices, and declared that it was all settled, when they heard of the least success! It was the same during the time of the emigration. At the news of the most trifling success, they overwhelmed the unfortunate creature, who ventured to doubt that they would not re-enter France within fifteen days. The same spirit has continued. I met a Spanish General in Paris, in 1816, who had served under the Duke of Wellington. He considered the idea that the Americans would be able to bear the looks of the Spaniards, as a heresy against the Supreme Chief. It would be curious to ascertain what this General says, on reading the American bulletins. We have lately seen a public paper severely reprimand those who dared to credit the news of the taking of Lima. It produced the most evident proofs, and laid down the best reasons in the world to demonstrate the impossibility of it.

Lafontaine was in the right when he said, a near relationship exists between tattling imprudence, foolish vanity, and idle curiosity. They are all shoots from one stem.

would Columbus and Cortès say, at the sight of the effect produced by three hundred years on the regions which they discovered and conquered? Would they also exclaim against conspiracies and the Liberals, for America conspires, and is as liberal as Europe? All this really has the appearance of the Thousand and One Nights, and the history of our times realizes the eastern fables. Every thing is to be found in the change which the new world has experienced; weight, immensity, rapidity, a whole hemisphere, a creation of States, which will be placed by their position, their extent, and their riches in the first rank of nations. It has required less time to separate America from Europe than it did to annex her to it; it has required less time to regenerate her than it did to effect the conquest, which is in opposition to the general rule; for conquest is most frequently rapid, and regeneration very slow. But what is not the least astonishing in all this is, the little sensation it produces. People have the appearance of being ignorant, of doubting whether such a country as America exists. She has been suffered to do just as she pleased; she has made her choice and very wisely so; she has now attained her aim. During the continuance of the struggle, the American Chiefs were treated as ruffians; but these ruffians have brought back the civilised Europeans to the laws of humanity, which had been cruelly violated by them. The degrading epithet

of robbers was lavishly bestowed upon them, but these robbers, like those who founded Rome, who were the fathers of the eternal city, have also founded their empires; they are at the head of States which are less in want of Europe, than Europe is of them; they knock at the gates of Europe, and they must be opened to them, for they also have their gates to shut; precaution, the friend of Europe, who indicated the nature and the inevitable consequences of the direction which America took, was ridiculed. It is requisite to give way to the feeling that is caused by all this; we are issuing from a period of attempt at greatness, and, perhaps, even bombastically so; perhaps it has been carried too high; we are descended to a period of littleness and of contraction in the method of viewing affairs, and are we not also fallen too low? The progress of the world was never more decided, more active, or more rapid; never, by an afflicting contrast, were the steps of those who guide its interests, more petty, more vacillating, or more embarrassed. They have persisted in not turning their looks to America, disregarding every warning; she has profited by their negligence to make her arrangements, and now they may endeavour to prevent her if they please; they might have directed her, now they must submit to her. America was of greater consequence than Naples and other political atoms, to whom much time has been sacrificed, without

producing any adequate result. We are now face to face with a Constitutional Mexican empire, against which no Hungarian grenadiers will be sent to revise the Constitution, and which will no more admit the Troppau doctrine on the right of interference, than Lord Castlereagh did, or than it will be admitted, wherever Slavonian bayonets can be kept at a reasonable distance. Let us examine all this—three points are here to be remarked.

1st. 'The complete rupture of the bond by which America was attached to Europe, viz. the occurrences in Mexico, have decided every thing. This part of America appeared to be the most inclined to Europe, but it is that which has discovered itself to be the least so, so correct were the symptoms and so well grounded were the calculations. I have long had my suspicions of the error, it has been complete. The revolution of Mexico will perfect that of Peru; a few days more or less are of no consequence to it—it is done. Every newspaper will bring us the intelligence of the transfer of some one of the fortified places which Spain still possesses on the American Continent; in fact, it is no longer Spain that is in possession of them, it is the remainder of the army which defends the place of its retreat. Spain herself can no longer be interested in this war, the soldiers she yet has in this country have nothing more to

defend, nor do they know the aim of the continuance of their labours; she has already sent forty thousand men there, from which number one only has returned—Morillo: she cannot dispose of one single soldier more. She therefore has no further influence in America, and it is from this point that she must regulate her conduct, and from which we must commence our considerations.

Mexico is separated from her, Colombia is organized, Buenos Ayres and Chili are beyond the power of attack, and Peru has declared herself independent; what does Spain still possess in America, and what can she effect against a country so extensive, so distant from her, and of a thousand times her strength? America is not a country that can be taken twice; the duration of her subjection might have been prolonged, but the universe combined would be impotent in capturing her.

The Spanish empire in America is therefore at an end, and its loss has destroyed the influence of Europe in the colonial system. In order to form a correct judgment of the subject, it is necessary to look at it in its full extent; we must, therefore, no longer talk of Spanish colonies, but simply of the consequences which will ensue from their separation from their late mother country. Me-

tropoles will for the future be only to be found in the church.

2nd. The emancipation of the Spanish colonies will affect, 1st, America, 2d, Europe.

This emancipation, added to that of North America, increased by Louisiana and the Floridas, will, in a short time, produce the separation of Canada, the Brazils, and of every thing that is European on the soil of America; the others have not been able to resist the presence of the United States alone, how then is it possible for a few isolated points to remain attached to Europe, surrounded, as they are, by the universal independence of America? Can this possibly be conceived? Would a few Indian villages be able to maintain themselves in Europe, subjected to a few Indian Nabobs? Would the Moors have been able to retain some few districts in Spain, in subjection to African princes? The European possessions in America are of no greater importance, and are not more secure. How can the islands remain European when within the reach of America, again become American? Will they be worth the trouble of keeping? The Havannah will be independent before a year has passed, and of what use is it to Spain without Mexico? It defended the latter, and offered her the harbours she could not her-

self provide. St. Domingo is free, Porto Rico will follow the Havannah, and of what consequence are the rest of the islands? When the seas are covered with ten American flags, which will present themselves before all the ports of the islands, by what means will they be driven away, and will the fruits of this superintendence correspond to the expences? The British empire in India is not less threatened or encroached upon, than those of Europe in America; distance diminishes the appearance of the danger, but on closer investigation, it will be seen whether it be not shaken and entirely changed by the unexpected appearance of the American provinces, which will endeavour to participate in the trade of the east, as well as the United States. The latter have already entered largely into it, and have obliged the English to modify their prohibitory laws; the other States will do the same, and will widen the breach made upon the excluding Englishman. India will then be no longer worth the trouble of keeping. This country is at this moment of very little advantage to England, some of her statesmen look upon it as an object of the luxury of power, more than of real utility;* and when things have reached that point, they draw very near to their conclusion. Are they not Indians who preserve India for strangers, who have come there

* See the late events in this country.

from a distance of six thousand leagues, and can it be believed, that this can last for ever? The colonial edifice has therefore crumbled to pieces; it must be supported or destroyed *in toto*; to maintain it partially would be folly, and perniciously romantic. The revolution of America completely changes European colonisation. Whatever interests may be attacked by this decree, it is impossible to alter it. The whole of America will be formed into a body, as perfectly detached from and independent of Europe, as she has been completely dependent upon her; the end will be like the beginning; hence, America will be replaced under the law of the creation, which made her independent of Europe, which had profited by a superior state of civilisation, to adjudge America to herself, and which Heaven had not made for her; America, in her turn, has taken advantage of an equal state of civilisation to repossess herself of her rights; the same claim has been acted upon on both sides, and definitively, this great event, by replacing every thing in its proper situation, is but a return to the order of nature, which had been violated by Europe.

2d. The second effect of the revolution of America will be produced upon herself, by the organization of that country into regular and local governments, instead of irregular and distant ones. A hundred years hence, it will scarcely be cre-

dited, that the vast region of America was once governed by the Council of the Indies, established at Madrid, in the heart of Castile.

3d. The third effect of the revolution will be the display of the riches with which America abounds. America is as yet hardly known but by name, her intrinsic value is concealed, and surpasses perhaps all human calculation. She is now free to pour forth all the treasures that lay hidden in her bosom, and which were suffered to remain inactive, by timorous, distrustful, idle, and unskilful hands. Let us extend this idea and declare, that the revolution of America will teach the universe to appreciate and to know itself. For the first time since the creation, all its parts are free to strive against each other with all their force. Individual interests have until now compressed their exertions; these barriers are now removed, and all the different parts of the world are summoned, as noble and independent rivals, to concur, with all their means, in this general comparison of all the various properties of the globe. America extends one of her arms to the east, the other to the west. In a short time, the Brazils and Buenos Ayres will descend upon the shores of Africa; the South Sea, with its Archipelago, presents a short and easy passage to the new Continents and to ancient Asia; the situation is admirable. When the virgin-soil of America

shall be ploughed and worked by means of modern arts, and penetrated by travellers in every direction, how incalculable will be the harvests and treasures that it will produce; the contemplation of it is overwhelming.

But the most direct and grateful effect that will be produced upon Europe by the emancipation of America, will be the destruction of the trident in the power of England; those of America will liberate the seas. A remedy to the British dominion on the ocean has been long sought for, it here presents itself, America will produce it; the whole of Europe, with all her navies, cannot contend with that of England alone, but with America free, she will have no cause for apprehension. The power of the English navy over Europe, arises 1st, from her proximity to Europe, 2dly, from the division of the different parts of the latter, which precludes the possibility of the union of her fleets. But how will England blockade both sides of America, as she did those of France and Spain? Where will she have her harbours to refit, and how many vessels will she require, and what treasure to support them? When the fleets of America and Europe shall be united together, those of England will be, comparatively speaking, much less formidable; the lever of Europe against the preponderance of England, will therefore not be fixed upon herself but upon

America; this point of view is elementary, and Europe will enter into possession of this great support. I have for a long time, drawn the attention to, and shewn the world on the other side of the Atlantic in opposition to Europe, and forming to itself a system, from which a contrast to the institutions, by which Europe is governed, will result, which must attract the observation of every one. It is now with little exception under the regal system; the two regions are in view of each other, are acting upon each other—which of them will prevail? What effect has not the contemplation of the simple, economical and quiet government of the united States, which is conducted with so much freedom and at such trifling cost, already produced upon the minds of the Europeans? Is not this spectacle, when generally spread over the surface of America, capable of shaking the confidence in the accepted institutions in Europe, and particularly when these cannot bear a comparison with their rivals? Are not men guided by imitation, and do not their eyes present the example to their minds? For my part, I have frequently declared, although in vain, that I can no more conceive the concurrence of republican America with royalist Europe, than I can the constitutional half of Europe with the other *absolute* half. There are contrasts which exclude all compatibility. In a short time, the courts will present an assembly, as yet unheard of—that of

despotic, republican and constitutional ambassadors, and the diplomatic relations will bear this triple character; when every court will exhibit ten republican ambassadors, representing well conducted countries, the effect, which it will produce on the minds of the spectators, will then be seen—it will not then be my fault.

I have no doubt, that the King of Portugal has gained much applause in the monarchies of Europe, by returning to Lisbon, which has the appearance of a *subprefecture of the Brazils*; and this prince, by quitting that country, has delivered it to the republican system. He was the preserver of royalty there. I have no doubt that the fall of Christophe has been the occasion of much congratulation at the catastrophe of a black, who thought proper to make himself a King—his crown has been replaced by the cap of liberty on the heads of negroes. Colonel Iturbide has certainly been spoken of amongst the kingdoms of Europe, as a revolutionist and a constitutionalist—they ought to erect statues to him for having preserved the torch of royalty in America, which was ready to be extinguished throughout the extent of that vast horizon. If ever it should be entirely extinguished there, with its disappearance it will grow dim in many other places. What remains to be done in Spain and every where else, in this state of things, when every thing has

been permitted to perish? To hasten to the assistance of what remains, or, in other words, to renounce all petty feelings and equivocations in words and projects, to cease all open or disguised opposition, to abjure narrow policy and underhand negotiations, not to throw away millions upon the preservation of what cannot be preserved and which is not worth keeping, which cannot be defended either against America or England; to keep those unfortunate beings at home, who would only be sent to perish, without any advantage to any one, in pestilential climates, and not to throw away money on the banks of the Senegal or the shore of Madagascar, for what can be procured in the plains of St. Denis. It is the cradle, the infancy of the colonial States and we are arrived at its conclusion. The question of the colonies must be met openly, it must be considered in all its bearings, and then it must be proceeded in according to existing realities and not according to that which has ceased to exist. Count Beugnat, in his speech upon the navy, has had the courage to strike the first blow against the old buildings that threatened ruin on every side.

I would ask any sensible person, whether there can be a more curious sight than that of the new Viceroys of Spain, promenading about, along the coasts of America, which expel them something

like we do the yellow fever in Europe? Can there be any thing more amusing than the Viceroy of Mexico, who had not been there a day, before he was obliged to call his lord and master to Mexico, who had sent him from Madrid to hold his court in Mexico? He must go there in person; really it seems as if they were acting only for the benefit of some future *Molière*. And the deputies from Mexico who were sitting gravely in the Cortes at Madrid, whilst other Cortes were forming in Mexico—and the commissioners from Caraccas, who have been sent away from Madrid at the same time that the envoys from Madrid were requested to withdraw from Buenos Ayres, and Caraccas! Does it not appear as if a comedy were performing? When will human affairs be treated with the seriousness they merit? Europe should not indulge in vain regrets at the separation of America, for she is laboring for the benefit of Europe by breaking the bonds that linked them together, she will find an ample compensation in the increase of her commercial relations. It is for the benefit of Europe that America will till her fields, will dive into the bowels of the earth and draw forth riches from her bosom; the manufacturing and populous part of Europe, will, for a long time, furnish America with those men, who are absorbed in the manufactories, and of whom she, as a cultivating country, is destitute; the profits of com-

merce will exceed those of property; an exclusive attachment to property is the peculiar characteristic of societies in an infant state, and ignorant of their personal qualities; Spain, France, England, all have but one and the same interest, and that from the same motives, which is, to settle their colonial system according to the new system of the world, to promote the most speedy and most conciliatory completion of the great revolution of America; not to oppose it in any way, but on the contrary, to assist it with all their powers; for time passes away, and every hour weakens the consequences of their interference, and excludes them from the question.

A colonial congress had been proposed, but others were instituted; the former was of much greater consequence, and in a short time, will be no longer possible.

The first example of a treaty between America and Spain occurred in the month of November, 1820, the pride of the latter was forced to humble itself so far as to enter into an agreement with those, whom she had, during so many years, treated as rebellious robbers; the sword was obliged to sheath itself before others equally well tempered. Such is almost always the termination of these affairs.

Bolivar and Morillo, who had long been exasperated rivals, united their hands in the name of humanity, and insured a few moments of respite to unhappy Colombia. At length, and for the first time, were the laws of war acknowledged such as they are established among civilised nations; and if the duration of the peace was but short, the war at least has no longer been sullied by atrocities, and abominable cruelties, which had been prolonged between the two parties by mutual animosity. The praise which the poet gives to the hero, the offspring of his fancy, may well be bestowed upon Bolivar:

Bolivar sur ces bords fonda l'humanité.

At the time when Bolivar entered Caraccas, the Spaniards were indebted to him for their lives, and the French squadron, which was on the coast, and lent their assistance to those unfortunate creatures, were enabled to judge whether these men, who were described as a band of robbers, did not equal the Europeans in civilisation. If the destinies of Rome were fixed on the field of Pharsalia, so were those of Colombia on the plains of Calabobo; the Colombian Republic dates from that period; the province of Carthagena was destined to finish the war, and the gates of Carthagena have opened themselves. At the moment I am writing, Porto Cabello has

experienced the same fate; these points being lost, Spain no longer possesses the means of placing a foot on the Colombian territory, and this republic will therefore only have to organize her internal administration;* may she do so free from all disturbances, and with the aid of wise, comprehensive, and vigorous intelligence; may she produce a work capable of effectually replying to the slanderers of revolutions! May these vows be fulfilled, and be heard by her!

Lima has fallen after an obstinate resistance, but at length it has been obliged to submit. General San Martin, the modern Pizarro, and successor to Almagro, after having liberated Chili, turned his attention to Peru, and has succeeded in his attempt, after a year and a half spent in laborious efforts.

Buenos Ayres has suffered greatly by intestine divisions;—wherever power is not accurately determined, and the establishment not sufficiently supported, many hands are anxious to seize upon it, and this has occurred here, as it will every

* The public funds of the republic of Colombia have been established among those of Europe and are upon a better footing than those of several European States; they are in circulation in London and gradually increase in value. They are now before the world and will be followed by many others.

where else under such circumstances ; power has the same attraction in every country. Much blood has been spilt, much time and many useful things have been lost by these dissensions. They have at length been brought to a conclusion, and, as invariably happens, necessity has induced them to have recourse to enlightened men, who are now at the head of affairs and under whose auspicious guidance, the great republic of Buenos Ayres, free from all apprehension, powerful both in the extent and richness of her soil, possessing an immense and increasing population, will advance with rapid strides towards the great destiny, which her admirable attributes will secure to her ; Buenos Ayres will one day become the Carthage of South America. London and Amsterdam possess none of her advantages, they do not border upon the Brazils and Africa as she does ; they have not, like her, only a few steps to make to double Cape Horn, nor do they enjoy, like Buenos Ayres, an inland navigation, which communicates, by a hundred canals, of immense dimensions, with the very heart of the American territories. How petty and how insignificant are our rivers and our mountains in comparison to those of America !

The Brazils present only the picture of chaos, into which it has been plunged by the King's departure for Lisbon, the effects of which have

already been felt by his son, who has been obliged to apply for his recall to Portugal. A fundamental point of discussion exists between Portugal and the Brazils, the colonial State and the presence of the King. The latter invests the place in which he resides with the character of a mother country, and that from which he absents himself, with that of a colony, which neither one nor the other are willing to allow. When the King resided in the Brazils, Portugal became dissatisfied; since his return to Portugal, the Brazils express the same feeling. Thus has the incompatibility of the two countries been declared. They are two regions that cannot exist under the same laws; they must be separated. The situation of the Brazils is both singular and critical; it contains three populations, viz. the Portuguese, the Brazilians, and the Negroes. The latter are very numerous, and are here, as well as in every other country, an object of terror to the two other classes. The Brazils prove the bad effect of accumulating an immense number of negroes. It becomes necessary to guard against them, and to prevent their becoming masters of the country. This is the present situation of the Brazils, and may be that of the Caraccas. The Portuguese in the Brazils wish for a constitutional system, under a prince of the royal family. The Brazilians wish for independence. It is very evident, that the independence and conversion of

the Brazils into a republic will naturally arise from their locality, situated as they are, in the midst of the emancipated and republican portions of America.

The King of Portugal, who had taken refuge in the Brazils, and who was master of an immense extent of territory, which does not contain the one hundredth part of the inhabitants it could support, and of which but a very small portion is as yet cultivated, felt himself straitened in this ocean of possessions, and endeavoured to wrest Monte Video from his neighbours, the Spaniards. This had nearly placed him in a very critical situation, by engaging him in a war with his new American neighbours, and, at the same time, with his old neighbours in Europe. At the moment of his departure for Europe, he caused the union of Monte Video to the crown of the Brazils to be discussed. The effect which this would have at Buenos Ayres may be easily imagined. Montesquieu was perfectly right in saying, Were there but two men upon earth, they would dispute about the boundaries.

Thus terminates every thing which relates to the empires of Europe over America, and there remains nothing that the former can, in future, say to the latter than that, as far as she is concerned, *every thing is consummated.*

CHAP. XXII.

GREECE.

*Approaching Dissolution of the Grand Alliance.
Character of France.*

This is an extremely complicated subject. It has, until now, been considered as the simplest thing in the world; but it appears, that it has not been viewed in all its bearings. The manner of looking only at one side of a question, is more expeditious than safe.

Some have been very eloquent upon Athens and Sparta, Thermopylæ and Marathon, Socrates and Plato. There is no great merit or difficulty in this, and unfortunately it throws no light upon the question. Others have been violent in their expressions against the Grand Turk and his barbarous subjects; they may deserve it, but we can learn nothing from such invectives. Russia has been represented by many as a political Ogre, always ready to devour Constantinople, which she is accused of having long wished to possess. This idea, however, is stale and vulgar; it is taking a false view, which has been propagated and adopted by unreflecting minds. The latter have not failed to recur to legitimacy. After

having wearied us with the continual repetition of words, which they do not understand, and which they are every day less able to explain; (for their legitimacy is like the horizon that recedes before those who approach towards it;) they have transferred it to Constantinople. May they remain there with it, and leave us in France with that of Mr. Guizot, which we adopt with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength.

The contesting parties have divided themselves into two bodies. The one carries the *labarum*, and the others the *crescent*. As it is always rather degrading to acknowledge one's self a Turk, this party is the least numerous, and, as might be expected, is composed of aristocrats, who are about as favourable to liberty at Constantinople as they are at Paris. Whatever may be the ardour of the contending parties, in favor of the standards they have adopted, their zeal does not lead them to range themselves under it; they look at it at a distance, and the most ardent protectors of Islamism are no more disposed to offer the assistance of their arms to the Grand Turk, than they are to exhibit *new pachas de Bonneval* to the eyes of Europe. As might be expected from the distributive justice of party writers, their *protégés* are angels, and their adversaries monsters. It will be seen in the papers

of Vienna, and of other places opposed to the Greeks, that the latter are tigers, and the Turks lambs, calumniated by the Liberals.

There is evidently a great deal of confusion in all this, and consequently there are a great many circumstances to be unravelled and to be corrected. I have thought, that the best method of attaining this object, would be to recur to the system which I have several times made use of, to make myself better understood, and that is, by questions and answers; by which, ideas are explained with the vivacity, precision, and clearness of dialogue. This being the most concise method of discussion, it affords a greater opportunity for the explanation of a question, and avoids all those subterfuges by which discussions are involved in obscurity, or spun out to a great length.

Q. Is the movement in Greece, as it has been termed at Laybach, a consequence of *the great conspiracy*, which the revolutionists have organised against the Governments of all countries?

A. About as much so as the capitulation of Mexico. This method of appreciating events, is the consequence of the view which has been adopted, whether in good or bad faith, in order to accuse the existing revolutions, and to elude

the real question, which is that of the social contract, of the rights of the people, and of the errors of Governments, which have produced these revolutions. Ill-treatment and want of skill are their legitimate parents, and not all those manœuvres which are alleged, for the purpose of *throwing powder into the eyes* of simple and confiding men, who are credulous, even from probity, and from fear of evil. In a word, these accusations furnish a topic to enlarge upon. Their own faults are concealed by accusing others, without which they would be reduced to silence. This is the real origin of the whole.

Q. What then may be considered as the real nature of this insurrection?

A. The combination of civilisation with the State, and example of the world.

Q. What is the state of civilisation among the Greeks?

A. That of a progressive increase; it does not meet with any religious or civil obstacle among them. During the last thirty years, the Greeks have established printing presses and schools; they visit all the resorts of science at London, Paris, and in Germany; they partake of the intelligence of Europe, and of her new existence.

They partake also of her riches by the means of commerce, they are the factors of the Ottoman empire and of part of the States of Austria and Russia. The Greeks have also, for some time past, increased their maritime commerce; they have raised some rocky islands on the Archipelago into immense depôts for the harvests of the Ukraine, which they have made the rivals of those of Europe: this proves that they are actively employed, that they correspond to European civilisation; in a word, that they are in a state of ascending progression.

Q. What is the state of civilisation amongst the Turks?

A. It is stationary, and must ever remain so. The Alcoran forms the barrier, for it is both the civil and religious code. The religion forms the customs of the people, and must be changed before they can admit of any alteration; the burden is too weighty to be removed. The Turks resemble the Jews enslaved to the Levitical system, and who are therefore still the same as at Jerusalem and under Moses. The legislators of the east are not better informed; they are strangers to those wise combinations which the legislators of the west, of ancient Egypt, and in our days, all the world, have known how to form, from the knowledge of the mind and heart of man. The

first have placed every thing in religion, and it cannot be doubted that this point of adherence is strong; but the Mahometans have afforded a proof on a large scale, that it is harsh and inimical to improvement. The Turks are nearly the same now that they were in the time of Amurath and Bajazet. Shackled and confined by their religion, they are incapable of advancing; on the other hand, the Greeks are no longer the same as under the last of the Constantines. The Turks were then superior to them, and subjected them, but the superiority is now transferred to the side of the Greeks; the Turks prevailed by its means formerly, the Greeks now avail themselves of it against them. The desire of being well understood induces me to make use of the following expression: *The Greeks are a people in cultivation, and the Turks are fallow-ground.* Setting out from this point, we see and follow the order of nature with all its effects, and we feel ourselves dispensed from a recurrence to those allegations, the continual repetition of which does not increase our intelligence; but, on the contrary, adds much to our disgust.

Greece has revolted against Turkey, from the same feeling that induced America to rise against Spain—that of her superiority. The language, which they have both held to their former masters, may be transcribed as follows:

“ You have subjected me by means of a power which at that time was superior to mine ; this yoke, the offspring of power, was maintained only by power ; this power has now enlisted itself on my side, and I avail myself of it to return your yoke to you, for my head is too exalted to bear the burthen of it ; take it back, you cannot maintain it any longer, nor can I bear it ; more just than you, I do not deprive you of any thing, I only repossess myself of my rights ; I have neither sought you in Spain, nor behind the Caucasus. You penetrated into these regions by force of arms, and it is by force of arms you are expelled. The strong and the clear-sighted cannot be dependent upon the weak and the blind ; this has been the law of the universe since the first period of its existence, we cannot suffer it to be infringed upon.” *

By applying our ideas to matters of a higher degree, to the order of nature and of societies, every difficulty vanishes ; the day-light then appears, where the other systems are involved in darkness.

• La-Fontaine, with that mixture of reason, wit, and grace, which are the distinctive characteristics of his compositions, says,

Jupiter placed two tables in the world for the use of men : at the first were seated the strong, the vigilant, and the ingenious ; the more insignificant ate the crumbs at the second.

Q. What is the comparative state of the Greeks and Turks in Europe ?

A. The Greeks are by far the most numerous in Greece and in the islands of the Archipelago, and this is the general relation in which the conquerors and the conquered stand to each other. The former have not peopled the country, and when a war of extermination, like that which has occurred in America, has not been carried on, the conquerors must necessarily form a numerical minority.

In Asiatic Turkey the Greeks are isolated, few in number, and, being devoted to commerce, they inhabit the towns where it is chiefly carried on.

Q. Was the example of the revolutions in Europe and America sufficient of itself to stir up Greece without the aid of conspiracies ?

A. It does not admit of a doubt ; example has great influence on the mind of man. The Greeks, as well as the rest of Europe, have seen the alterations and Constitutions which have taken place, and have been formed in America, France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Upper Germany ; the general revolution was at their threshold ; the government which oppresses them grows daily more enfeebled, and they have endeavoured to do that

which the ill treatment they have received from debilitated, ferocious, and unskilful hands have urged them to. Have things ever taken place differently among men? What was the origin of many past and existing powers? When shall we cease to be shewn that which is not, and to have that which actually exists, concealed from us? Truth works universal good, as error does universal evil.

Q. What is the state of the Turks in Greece?

A. The same as the ancient feudal Lords in Europe. Less numerous than the Greeks, they inhabit the fortified and isolated positions upon the mountains, as was the case in feudal times; the configuration of Greece is adapted to this manner of living. The Greeks, who form the population of the country, inhabit the villages, the open towns, and the plains; they till, sow, and labour, whilst the feudal Turks, like their ancient brethren in Europe, eat, pillage, and enforce exactions from these unfortunate beings, and, at their leisure moments, make war upon them, as the feudal lords did in their days; it was the pastime of feudality. The forts, which the public papers mention, as besieged by the Greeks, are nothing more than these ancient nests of the feudal tyrants, from whence they harassed

the country, and in which the most powerful of them used to bury their spleen against the Court ; these were the places of which the Cardinal de Richlieu made a clean sweep, and of which thirty-two were demolished in the province of Auvergne alone. This personage was *a very great Greek in his time*, and sometimes took great liberties with the *feudal Turks of France* under Louis XIII.

The nature of the movement in Greece is therefore perfectly well understood ; it is only the effect and continuation of that of the universe, and of the great social reformation which is every where in operation.

With respect to conspiracies, as being connected with this movement, they ought to be transplanted to the land of fairy tales, or to be placed among the Vampires.

Q. What will be the issue of the war between the Greeks and the Turks ?

A. That question is of a very complicated nature. Its solution depends on a variety of circumstances and accidents, which would be likely to alter the appearance of it ; the interference, for example, of any great power, would turn the scale in favor of the side on which it would be

exerted. The struggle must therefore be reduced to the contending parties alone, availing themselves of their own means.

The Turks are in possession of the fortresses, they have all the means of organised governments, they have fleets, and the population of the Ottoman empire greatly exceeds that of Greece alone. On the other hand, the Greeks are superior to the Turks in the moral part, they are more active, more enlightened, more initiated in the European arts, and are excited by the desire for liberty and the prospect of a merciless slavery; they cannot be blind to the fate that is reserved for them. Men badly armed, hastily assembled together, novices both as leaders and as soldiers, generally begin by being beaten by whoever is better disciplined than themselves; it would be wonderful if they were not. The Greeks may meet with checks, their armaments must begin on a small scale, but if they hold out, they will increase, they will organise themselves, and will, by means of their faculty of learning, prevail over men who are stationary and who are incapable of departing from their regular routine. The cabinets oppose the armaments of the Greeks and the arrival of experienced men, who would prepare them for combat. This opposition is injurious to the Greeks, and not very honorable to the cabinets. The issue of this war will be the same as

that of almost all great insurrections; where they last, they succeed: the most important thing for the Greeks is, to prolong the war; if they gain this point, success must ultimately be theirs.

Q. How do the three allied Courts look upon the revolution of Greece?

A. In speaking of the events in Italy, it was said at Laybach, *Equally criminal combinations have made the eastern part of Europe the scene of incalculable convulsions*. These words comprise every thing. Those who have endeavoured to discover whether Russia were favourable to the Greeks, had forgotten them. There is no doubt that the three Courts look upon the Grecian revolution as an actual rebellion, an insurrection, the fruit of revolutionary conspiracies, and from that moment the revolution must have been an object of their animadversion.

Q. Does legitimacy enter into this consideration at all?

A. The mania, or what might be termed the *rage* of reproducing this name at every turn, could alone cause it to be applied to the affairs of Greece. Wherever legitimacy can be supposed to exist, there must be a system of things, to which the title may be applied, and this sys-

tem is to be found in human societies, and not in oriental subjection. A distinction must be made in things. A man possesses himself of another by force, this is sufficient to make him his legitimate master, a confusion and transposition of ideas is observable in this; we transfer the effects of civilisation to that which is not civilised, and the notions on social order to that which is beyond it, and this has happened in Turkey in the case of the Greeks. Barbarians rushing upon them, continuing the course of invasions that had been commenced by the north, some centuries before, had invaded Greece, as the Huns and the Vandals, conquered Hungary and Africa, and is this to be called legitimacy? The conquered do not enter into the new conquests, they do not exercise any right, and are only tolerated by force of contributions. They assist the conquering society, and in return, are allowed only the liberty of breathing, and of living; they are reduced to the state of animals, who are not slaughtered, but are condemned to work. These people must be permitted to live for the purpose of providing the fruits of the earth, and tribute money; his life is not granted to him for himself, and is not, in the mind of his masters, of any consequence to him, and men, who are very peaceably established in the bosom of societies, which guarantee a thousand advantages to them, can gravely impose the title of

legitimacy upon a system, which bears no relation with that which legitimates legitimacy itself! Where would the legitimacy exist in a person who should say, *I am every thing and you are nothing*? Legitimacy is a guarantee given to society and instituted for it; and how could the guarantee exist where the object to be guaranteed does not? I believe these notions to be sound, and drawn from the nature of human societies. It is the same with the Greeks, as with the Negroes, the Indians and the Mexicans. In all these cases, where is the seat of legitimacy, in the acceptation of the word adopted in our regular civilised societies, which are formed by men united by ties of consanguinity, who are the fruits of the same earth, the production of friendly blood, who are united by corresponding habits, and all that establishes confraternity among men; it is there, that the materials of legitimacy discover themselves, they are seen, they are felt; but to place it between masters and mere subjects, who can exercise and claim no other right in the association, than that which is enjoyed by plants, viz. *to vegetate*, it would be a mockery to transfer the preserving doctrine of legitimacy to such a system. Who ever quoted the legitimacy of *Agesilaus over the Iliotes*? *The Grand Turk is the Agesilaus of the Greeks, who are become his Iliotes*. And he is as legitimate, with respect to them, as Agesilaus was to his Iliotes, or as a slave trader

is to the man he has kidnapped on the banks of the Senegal. To grant life to a fellow creature, and particularly in making him work for our own interest, is a lion-like species of legitimacy, which no man, no being, the work of the Creator, would inscribe in his code : man does not deserve such an imputation. It is a mistake, the Grand Turk is legitimate with regard to the Turks, but not to the Greeks.

Q. What may be positively said upon this grand affair of the Greeks ?

A. The Cabinets have retired into themselves and have resorted to their favourite system of secrecy. It appears that endeavours are made to conceal the knowledge of passing events, and that it is thought well to possess exclusive information ; this always gives an air of importance. The roads may be seen lined with Couriers, who perhaps are not the bearers of any news of importance ; the ministers confer together, and the public papers give whatever colour it may suit them to the action of a theatre, which is as distant from our habits as it is from our sight, and which holds out no great temptation to a closer examination. In this state of obscurity, reason prescribes that we should confine ourselves to the nature of things, and this nature of things foretels that the war will take place, it is certain.

Q. Does Russia wish for a war with Turkey?

A. No.

Q. Has Russia any secret views of aggrandizement at the expence of Turkey?

A. No. The contrary opinion belongs to the old policy, to that of Catherine, but not to that of Alexander. This error arises from the circumstance, that people will only perceive what they have seen before, and that one period is judged by the same rule as another.

Q. What may be the system of Russia?

A. As far as the nature of things can serve as a guide, it is this:

To discountenance insurrection, to secure the Greeks from future outrage, and to require securities; there are some treaties existing between Russia and the Porte, by which she is enabled to offer herself as a guarantee for the safety of the Greeks, her co-religionaries; and this presents another example of the inconvenience of admitting another State, in any manner whatsoever to interfere in the internal system of a government. The ferocity and the absence of the Turkish policy, require that securities should be given, to

obtain from fear that, which the customs refuse; the difficulty arises from these securities. Russia requires solid securities; Austria and England may entertain some apprehensions with regard to the final destination of this deposit, and may require securities against the aggrandizement, which might result from it in favour of Russia. Thus, what with securities on the one side and guarantees on the other, the grand Turk will find himself in the same situation as the man between two ages and two mistresses, and to prevent his being stripped like him, he will draw his Scimitar.

Q. Will the war between Russia and Turkey take place?

A. It can and must break out, contrary to the inclination both of the Divan and of Russia.

Q. In what manner?

A. The Sultan has called his people to arms; the Asiatics arrive in crowds and in disorder, according to their custom. The hearts of these barbarians will swell at the sight of their numbers; when they have counted their number, they will think themselves capable of supporting heaven on the points of their lances: the appreciation of barbarians is wholly referred to quantity. The

European Turks are what were proverbially termed at Paris, *des muscadins* in comparison to the Asiatic Turks, from the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris; these are Turks in all their primitive barbarity. These hordes acknowledge no restraint, they are strangers to discipline and live on plunder, nor would they come so far to do nothing; They are as formidable to the hand that directs them, as to the enemy they threaten; any success on the part of the Greeks might inflame this multitude of fanatic savages and precipitate them under the pretext of revenging their countrymen into such excesses, as the Emperor Alexander might feel himself called upon to answer for to humanity, to religion, to honor, and to his people, exasperated in an opposite sense against the Turks; this union of circumstances renders the decision of war or peace certain.

Q. What would be the consequences of such a declaration of war?

A. If we were to adopt the opinion of many persons, it might be supposed that it were only necessary to take the Turks by the hand, and to lead them back into Asia, and that the question related merely to a military promenade or a simple expedition, such as the campaign of Russia

in 1812, was described to be: the success might perhaps be similar. Such inconsiderate confidence generally terminates unfortunately.

Science and strength are very unequal between the Turks and the Russians, but the soil of Turkey devours every thing that treads upon it, it is necessary to march through deserts and ruins to reach the plague; the invaders find themselves surrounded by Parthians who fight at a distance who fly and return incessantly. Moving citadels, such as are the Russian armies, may easily penetrate light squadrons, as swift as the wind; but they must carry every thing with them, they will find the enemies they cannot attack in front, on their flanks, and in their rear; all stragglers from the main body inevitably perish, and if these phalanxes are once penetrated or confused, they will meet the fate of the Macedonian phalanx, when its ranks were penetrated by the swords of the Romans.

General Marsigli has asserted, that to march and to arrive at Constantinople, was the same thing; but the Emperor Joseph lost in Turkey the finest army Austria ever sent forth. The Czar Peter found another Pultawa upon the Pruth. Some reasons may, therefore, exist to moderate the confidence in the decided success held out to the Russians.

Supposing them arrived at Constantinople, what will they find there? *Ashes, as at Moscow, and the plague.* If the town be preserved, who will keep it? When the Emperor Joseph was discussing the question of the expulsion of the Turks with the Empress Catherine, this princess repeatedly brought him back to this capital point: What shall we do with Constantinople?

Supposing Constantinople and the left side of the Bosphorus occupied, what will be gained by it? Who will pass the Bosphorus, half Russian, half Turkish? The entire commerce of southern Russia will be paralyzed for want of an outlet. It will then be necessary to advance into Asia, and from that moment, no limits can be assigned to the war. Is it supposed, that the Turks will submit at the first onset, and, as it were, at the first summons? Such an idea is in total opposition to their custom; on the contrary, they will be induced to carry on an eternal war, as the Russians would have done against the French, had they remained in Poland. The Turks must not be estimated by the ideas and customs of Europe, but by those of Asia. The Turks will defend themselves with the same inflexible obstinacy which the Spaniards have always displayed, whenever it has been attempted to overstep their thresholds. Such is the character of the nations of the South. They defend their

homes as the lion and the boar their dens. Such is their patriotism. These nations have no analogies with others; they do not encroach upon them; they do not demand any thing from them, nor will they permit their territory to be entered upon, or that any thing be exacted from them. They are then always found to unite together, and war becomes a war of extermination. During the Spanish war, the French armies have frequently beaten those of Spain. Twenty, thirty, forty thousand Spaniards, occupying the strongest positions, have never been able to maintain them against half the number of French troops; and yet, of what use have been all these victories? The reigning Sultan is said to be endowed with a character of the most determined firmness. The Turks believe neither in the good faith nor in the friendship of any Christian towards them; they consider them all as equally objects of horror. The Sultan has endeavoured to inflame the minds of his subjects with the idea of the dangers to which both the empire and Islamism is exposed. Who can foretel to what degree of passion and obstinacy, the consideration of this twofold danger may not raise the natural courage of the Turks? Who can tell whether some of those great characters may not be brought to light by this tremendous struggle, which the East has frequently produced, and which display a proportion of strength, the existence of which

amongst them was not even suspected? Who can say, whether such a regeneration as Turkish civilisation is capable of, may not ensue from the trial, to which it will be exposed by the war? Charles XII. and Napoleon have formed the military education of the Russians.

Q. What effect will the war produce upon European trade?

A. It will sustain an immense loss.

Q. What part do England and Austria take in this war?

A. They exert all their efforts to prevent it.

Q. For what reason?

A. Because they perceive, that a general one would ensue. The marching of a Russian army towards Constantinople would be like the sound of the tocsin over all Europe, where sufficient disturbance already exists without it.

Q. Why do England and Austria support Turkey?

A. They support her as a counterbalance to Russia. The latter is of the same religion with

the Greeks. If they prevail against the Turks, if they maintain themselves against them, they will be in want of allies; and, in that case, they would apply to Russia; the Russian influence would thereby become more extensive, and, as it is already too powerful, England and Austria endeavour to prevent such an increase. If this consideration did not exist, England and Austria would be found making common cause with the Greeks. They are not pleased with the latter, as having broken out into insurrection, and as having compromised them with Russia in a very serious manner, otherwise they are not ill-disposed towards the Greeks. Austria neither loves nor honours the Turks; she has long been striving against them; she has just restored the Jesuits, a measure not likely to increase the Turkish influence. On the other hand, England examines the movements of Russia, step by step, and will not suffer any encroachment on her part. England may also, and must entertain apprehensions with respect to the trade of the Levant. This may be said to be wholly in her hands, and a war could not fail to be highly injurious to it. War would also introduce disorder into the finances of England, which are beginning to recover themselves from the extensive and powerful efforts she has made. These motives are sufficient to explain the exertions which England and

Austria make, to prevent a conflagration, the first sparks of which would fall upon themselves.

I hazard these conjectures upon the little information that is granted to me, and from the nature of things, which is my sole guide. The judgments of time must be patiently expected, and must be submitted to when they are pronounced.

Q. What effect have the occurrences in Greece produced upon the great alliance?

A. They have nearly brought about its dissolution. A distinction must be made between the Grand Alliance, the Holy Alliance, and the Alliance of the three absolute Courts, for all these exist. The Alliance of absolute power against the constitutional is maintained, and will be maintained. The so-called Holy Alliance will also be maintained; but the Political Alliance, which was formed in 1812, is on the eve of dissolution, and this will bring about that of the others. It is impossible to be both friend and enemy, to combat and to assist at the same time. Alliances do not exist by reconciliation only, but also by the intermixture and incorporation of interests. These are the cementing powers of Alliances; when they are divided, Alliances

follow them and fall away. Besides, the position in which the three Alliances are placed is this; two belong to the moral order, the third to the political; the latter contains a principal of division and of jealousy, which is always ready to break out, and as always happens in Alliances, composed of very unequal parts. The force of Russia renders the others uneasy; they are always ready to separate from her, and even to oppose her. The nature of such an Alliance is not lasting. The disputes of Turkey have forced the hidden germ of dissolution, which it contained, to appear.

Q. What embarrassment does Austria particularly labour under with regard to Russia?

A. Under that which results from a treaty, by the conditions of which she may be required by Russia to assist her with a contingent in a cause, which is in diametrical opposition to her own interests. Austria now finds herself in the same position with regard to Russia that she formerly placed herself in with regard to Napoleon, viz. that of assisting one whom she feared on account of superior power, and of promoting the aggrandizement of a state already too strong for her. This is the consequence of an adherence to those ancient diplomatic practices, by which treaties of

reciprocal co-operation were made between States of unequal strength, and possessing different interests : the effect of such treaties is, as may be perceived in these two cases, to place one of the contracting parties in a false position, and to make it work its own destruction.

Q. What part does France act in the affairs of Greece?

A. The only one which her situation, as it is described by M. Guizot, can permit. France performs the duties of humanity in an honorable manner, by granting the protection of her flag to the victims of Turkish ferocity. As she is unable to do more, she acts a conciliatory part, she prays and remonstrates, but she cannot well engage herself further, and the reason for this we will explain when we come to examine her federative system. She disapproves of the Grecian revolution as she did that of Naples; she will sign all the declarations against the insurgents, but she will not act with England and Austria against Russia. This confused character arises from her internal position, as has been ably shewn by M. Guizot; and she is not seen to exert any influence in the great negotiations relating to this affair. France has assumed the same character she acted in the affairs of Poland; had she continued the line

of conduct which Francis the 1st and Louis the XIVth adopted, she would have supported Turkey more openly. Those princes were two great politicians; they suffered those who reproached them with entering into an alliance with the enemies of the Christian faith, to exclaim against them, but they were well aware that the affairs of the earth are not managed by those of heaven; they therefore continued their course, and remained the friends of Solyman and Bajazet. During three hundred years, France enjoyed the fruits of this policy in the advantages it produced to her trade with the Levant; policy procured for her that which bigotry tended to deprive her of. The Cardinal de Richlieu was thus seen to protect the Protestants of Germany against the house of Austria with one hand, whilst, with the other, he destroyed them at Rochelle. France has been supplanted by England in the Levant, and the firm policy of the latter, in favor of the Divan, will secure the superiority to her.

Q. Supposing the Greeks be subdued, what will be their fate?

A. They will be exterminated; the habits of their enemies assure it, and nothing will prevent their accomplishing it. It is a war of the standard of Mahomet against that of the Cross, one or the other must perish.

Q. What effect will the success of the Greeks produce?

A. It will lay the foundation of a powerful state in Greece, it will add to the number of the living members of the European association, and will extend civilisation. It is to the interest of Europe to promote the progress of the latter, and not to favor a state of inactive barbarity, such as that of Turkey. No advantage can be derived from the poor and the idle.

Q. Ought the success of the Greeks to be desired?

A. To desire this, it is only requisite to be a man and a Christian, to value civilisation, to have read Homer and Demosthenes, to have contemplated the master-pieces of Phidias and Praxiteles, to remember all that Greece has done for the human mind, and for each of us in particular, and to call upon Turkey to produce claims equal to these.

Finally, every day brings with it fresh hopes in favor of the Grecian cause; destiny seems to have sealed the fate of the Ottoman empire. Towards the east it is attacked by the Persians, in the west and the north it is threatened by Russia, and in the south by Greece. The war with the Russians cannot be opened before the month of May; the

Turks are not fond of a winter campaign; they are like the feudal armies, which disbanded themselves at the appearance of frost. The Greeks therefore have all the winter before them to fortify and organise themselves; the Turks are obliged to divide their forces, they will be impotent against the Greeks; Greece may be considered as lost to them. Every probability is in favor of this opinion. The ramifications of this revolution will be explained by time; Europe has already committed many errors with regard to it, and many more may be expected from her.

CHAP. XXIII.

FEDERATIVE SYSTEM OF FRANCE.

WE are led to speak of the federative system of France by the affairs of Greece, and the part which she has taken in them. The affairs of Naples had begun to discover the real federal situation of France, and those of Greece have completely unveiled it.

What is a federative system?

It is a permanent system, founded on the permanent or natural interests of a country. A complete federative system, that is to say, a natural and permanent one, must be distinguished from alliances, created by momentary interests. States attract or repel each other according to their natural relations, and resist those approaches which induce them to depart from their natural course, to which they return by the weight of their own influence; thus Charles II. could never make the English keep or approve his alliances with Louis XIV.; they always ended in war, notwithstanding the wishes of the monarch; an alliance existed

between the men, but not between the affairs; they resembled refractory metals, which art cannot amalgamate. England returned to her natural state by the succession of wars which William III. and Queen Anne carried on against France. England and France, restored to their natural state, fought each other naturally, as they were endeavored to be united fictitiously. The basis of every good and durable federative system is therefore founded on the permanent and natural interests of a State. The formation of a federative system, therefore, only requires a search after that which is conducive to it; contiguity, similarity in the produce of countries, are not motives of alliance; this state leads to too great rivalry and means of destroying each other. The root of solid alliances lies in the distance which separates the parties; and in the various nature of their means of fortune; thus, Turkey, Sweden, ancient Prussia, and Spain, being separated from France by mountains, by manners, and by productions, which all render the first a stranger to the other, as if she were at a distance of a thousand leagues, form the basis of an intimate federative system adapted to ancient France, because none of these states could either envy or deprive her of any thing, or suffer any thing from her; they were and might have been connected in the strictest alliance. The state of perfect conformity, undisturbed by any mixture of opposition between

different states, forms the first and most perfect degree of the federative system.

The second is placed in alliances which comprehend a protectorship, but which do not exclude either contiguity or injuries. Thus, France protected her neighbour, the German Empire, for a considerable period, but this federal protection did not hinder her from appropriating some of her states to herself. England has done the same with regard to her *protégé*, Holland, of whose colonies she has never neglected to take into her possession those which suited her.

This system may be deranged by extraordinary circumstances, and then temporary expediency supersedes the natural and ordinary system; on occasions of fire, friends and enemies forget their individual quarrels, and, being assembled together by a present and urgent interest, they use their united endeavors to work the engines.

A superior and overbearing power, which is threatening alike to all, by destroying that equilibrium which is necessary to the common safety, throws all the rest into the opposite scale, as was done against Napoleon, and as they are obliged to do by the preponderance of Russia, which has succeeded to his power; in this case, the common danger regulates the system, it is natural and

must last as long as the danger exists. When this shall have past, things will then return to their natural state, and each alliance will again be formed according to their regular principles.

An alliance is a marriage of States; that it may be solid and fruitful, the parties must, as in marriage, give themselves up entirely. Reserve, restrictions, are so many death blows to contracts. When an alliance is once entered into, it must be supported by all the means in our power, and we must go on to the end; what does your discretion pretend to effect, which only urges you to act by halves, and permits you to stand still when you have gone half way? It would have been much better not to have begun the journey at all; history is the living witness of the miserable nature of such stipulations. Every thing or nothing! this is the only maxim that can be followed in almost all political affairs.

And now let us examine the system of France according to these principles. Three questions present themselves here: What has it been? What can it be? and, What is it at present?

The whole of the ancient federative system of France is destroyed. Sweden has no longer any influence in the German empire. This power has now but one interest, that of barricading herself,

if I may so express it, against her formidable neighbour. She will certainly not compromise herself with her, for the sake of obliging France.

Prussia, whom the distance from France formerly made her friend, has now become her enemy, in consequence of her near approach, by means of the new possession of the Grand Duchy of the Rhine, which has already wrested Sarre-Louis from her, and has lost her Prussian Alliance for ever. Deplorable error, arising from the desire of keeping the King of Saxony in a mutilated state!

The kingdom of Holland retains her natural position of a barrier against France. It was with this intention it was created, and it must fulfil it; and this, although it does not create a necessity for hostilities, still excludes the possibility of federal engagements with France.

The German empire is but the shadow of its former self, which has successively passed under the protection of France, Sweden, and Prussia. When Austria was out of danger, when this power availed itself of the German Catholic league, the others placed themselves at the head of the Protestant league. This has been supplanted by a different system. It no longer exists; Germany is guided only by her distrusts

and her painful recollections against France. The Confederation of the Rhine has destroyed her influence in the empire for a long time to come.

The supremacy of Austria in Italy renders her alliance with France impossible. This produces the same effect with regard to Piedmont and the other States of Italy, which are not well-inclined towards Austria, but may fear her; and being apprehensive also of her force, will not expose themselves, for the sake of seeking a distant support in France; their little policy is constrained, and corresponds with their proportion of power.

Naples has been three times raised by Austria from the fall she had received from France. There is no great difficulty in discovering to which side her Government inclines. A contradiction exists between its own interests, which induce it to look to Austria, its personal protectress, and the interests of the country, which are in favour of France; but the latter is far off, and Austria is near at hand. France is not the mistress of the ocean, and on that side again, Naples belongs more to England than to France.

Russia is allied to no one; she terrifies all the world. Her power keeps her out of all federative system, which she does not require, and which would only embarrass her.

In this situation, what remains to France, circumscribed in the North, and excluded from the East? The South, Spain, and Portugal.

Let us return to this, the subject is worth the trouble. One of the first necessities of France is, to be acquainted with herself; and one of the most urgent duties of the person who has studied it, is to communicate his knowledge of her situation.

Reflection has taught me what I am about to declare; nor is it now for the first time, that I have thus looked upon the question, and have explained it.

On the Continent, France is the rear-guard of Europe against Russia.

At sea, she is the van-guard of Europe against England. Her part in this becomes every day more decided, and is rendered more easy by that which America will soon enter upon; it is there that the great relief to all the navies of Europe is to be found.

France is, therefore, reduced to the slightest possible federative system. I have not spoken of her connexion with Turkey, for two reasons; 1st, because Turkey now becomes a problem;

and 2dly, because England, by reason of her maritime superiority, and the services rendered to the Turks during the war, the vicinity of Corfu and Malta; and above all, by her permanent and fundamental opposition to Russia, is necessarily the ally of Turkey. France can have no further influence there.

During the sittings of the Congresses of Troppau and Laybach, it was asked, Are we to be Russian, or are we to be English? These words have often struck upon my ears for some years past, and have appeared to me to contain all the alternatives of current policy; these words have afflicted me; they are full of contempt and insult for my country. What is the meaning of an alliance with Russia? Is not her own strength sufficient? and does she stand in need of that of France? It can thereby be only an act of patronage, requesting of Russia to shelter us under her powerful wings. Oh, shame! What could be effected by an alliance with England, after all that has passed between us, with hearts so little in unison, and interests so incompatible? What was expected from it? France is not in the condition of those powers, who, when they offer the use of their swords to England, always begin by emptying her purse. France also has a purse, which was often at the service of others; she cannot, therefore, gain any thing

by England. But how, and where can she mark out the scene of action? Every one makes use of his most powerful weapon; that of England is her fleet; that of France, her army. She must, therefore, act upon the Continent; but in what place; in what number, and to what end? This is the point that is not understood. Thus, when the affairs of Naples were discussed at Laybach, opinion and one class of politicians became inflamed, and pointed to an alliance with England. With the best intention in the world, they uttered the most inconsiderate things. Their heads had but little correspondence with their hearts. I should be glad to know, what England and France could effect against Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who kept herself in the third rank. What would have been the comparative force of this confederation? Where would the parties have met together? To what extent, to what end, and in what situation could this alliance have acted? The more it was examined, the less were those great and solid motives perceived, that ought to decide upon this species of contract. The French Cabinet refused to lend itself to these investigations, and showed its wisdom in doing so.

France and her Cabinet ought to consider it certain, that a *fixed rule* is laid down in Europe, with respect to her, which is this, *to deprive her of nothing, and not to permit any increase to her.*

The natural consequence of this principle is, *that every alliance must be a burthen upon France; that her assistance will be required in situations of urgent danger, which cannot very well take place but with respect to Russia; and that, after the engagement, she will be conducted home with civility, but without profit.* This is to be expected.

The occurrences which are now taking place, support me in what I have thus said. France is too powerful a State to exclude herself, or to be excluded from affairs which occur in different places. She is, therefore, observed to dispatch as many couriers, and to keep as many diplomatists on foot as other powers; but all these movements are only the demonstration, and not the reality of power. She is listened to with respect; her words are soft and conciliating, but power resides elsewhere. It is thus it has happened at Naples, and that it is now at Constantinople.

This State is afflicting, inglorious and little proportioned to the real power of France, and is likely to affect the mind in an unfavorable manner towards the government—Burke states one of the causes of the revolution to have been the profound grief with which France was inspired on account of the state of political degradation, into which the cabinet of Louis the XVth had fallen, particularly

at the time of the partition of Poland. Men, who feel an ardent love for their country, and who possess sufficient intelligence to appreciate its government, are jealous of that political honor which assigns it a rank among nations, and apportion their attachment according to the degrees of honor to which it is raised. But further, would France in her present state, be susceptible of a good federative system ?

What is the soul of a federative system ? Confidence. In forming an alliance, it is necessary to begin by believing those with whom we contract ; otherwise to what purpose would an alliance tend ? Does not this consist in the free disposal, which a government possesses, of all its faculties, by means of the peaceful enjoyment of itself ? But, supposing that this enjoyment does not exist, that the establishment be contested, varying and without shape, supposing that there be two contending parties, that men and their systems were but as birds of passage, whose stay were short, and who enjoyed but an abortive consideration ; in a word, supposing every thing *like an airy vision*, what man of sense would ally his certainties to these uncertainties ; who would expose himself to find his course deranged and obstructed at every moment, to find himself opposed to men, hostile to those with whom he had treated the day before, as happened to prince Eugene,

and the Grand Pensionary Hensius, when the cabal prevailed against Marlborough? When therefore an alliance with England was wished for during the course of the Neapolitan war, a veil was drawn over the difference that exists between the English Government, which is uncontested in its internal arrangement, and the French Government, which is quite the contrary. In order to arrive at a clear explanation of the subject, we must transpose it: would France, with all her internal contradictions, ally herself to Spain in her present state, for the purpose of acting directly with her in any great political matter, which would require time and concert? Apply this to England and say, what wisdom would England, being completely established, display, by allying herself to France, whose establishment is incomplete, who is unstable in her institutions, her counsels and her counsellors, and who is drawn in two opposite directions, by the ancient and modern systems? Would you consider that prudent on the part of England, which you would not consider prudent on the part of France, with regard to Spain? And what minister is there, who could make a compact with the French ministry in the hope of its enduring, after having read the work of M. Guizot.*

* This was written previous to the dismissal of the ministry and referred to it. The proof was not long in shewing itself.

I have shewn that France has no opportunity of forming a federative system but in the South of Europe. The exiguity of this resource ought to render it the more precious, and induce her to cultivate it with the greater care. It is for this reason that France should assist the South to steer the revolution, which that region has undertaken, into a safe harbour. The question does not regard personal wishes, or to know whether such a system would be more flattering to our inclinations, nor even to lament the unpleasant situations, into which those have fallen, who would have been exempt from them, had they been placed in another position; into this dilemma they have brought themselves by the errors they have committed, errors which have forced from them a power which they only wielded to a disadvantage, but the question is here, not to leave France isolated in the midst of European Associations; and to prepare supports to her for times, which may come, and which must always be provided for, even when they are not probable. Besides there does not exist a doubt that the South of Europe, regenerated by the revolution, will contain far more manly principles of force, than would have been discovered under her ancient *aristocratical-monachal* system. This renders the contradiction so painful, that has restored Italy to that nullity, from which the revolution was about

to extricate her. There, Europe, France, and particularly the House of Bourbon, have experienced an immense loss, by looking coolly on Italy returning into the hands of Austria, and into a state of impotency so convenient for that power.

CHAP. XXIV.

COURT OF ROME.

How changed are the times! Gregory, Julius, Leo, Sixtus, arise from your graves! be present at a spectacle, a suspicion of the possibility of which would not have entered into your minds. A king of Germany, who was unknown to you, whom your successors but lately styled the Duke of Brandenburg, a follower of the worship which you opposed and proscribed, had just signed a contract with him who occupies your seat,* when, at the same moment, the statue of him, who mutilated your sceptre, and covered your triple crown with insults, against whom you hurled your thunderbolts, to which he opposed a serene and threatening countenance, was advancing from the manufactories of the Capital towards Wittemberg, to receive the honors of an apotheosis. In the days in which you lived, blood would have flowed from the feet of the statue raised at Wittemberg, the Vatican would have sent forth

* Prussian Concordate—Inauguration of the statue of Luther at Wittemberg.

its thunders; but now, the psalms that are chaunted around it, are not disturbed, no interruption is offered to the solemnity of the people, who, in their own manner, express their admiration, and their gratitude to him, whom they believe themselves indebted to, for a new existence. What centuries have not elapsed from the time of the bulls, which Leo the Xth issued against Luther, and the festivals instituted at Wittemberg to celebrate his name! This single act seems to recal the whole space the world has run through since that period; this is the admirable effect of intelligence, which has at length introduced toleration, the beneficent goddess of the human species, at whose voice man learns to respect in others, that which he desires may be respected in himself, and the torrents of blood, which intolerance had shed, have ceased to flow! Glory be given in her name to the pontiff, and to the prince, who have so nobly united together in the interests of religion and humanity! The concordate, signed by the Pope, and the King of Prussia, is a real monument of modern civilisation; the King deserves the thanks of religion, for the generosity with which he has provided for her wants—good-will belongs to all species of worship and on this occasion the King of Prussia has shewn himself superior to those sectarian prejudices which formerly possessed so much influence. This is an admirable example, which must give

great satisfaction to those minds, which are alive to the progress of reason, so beneficial to the interests of humanity. There is an immense difference between this and the rejection of the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland.

There is always a double action at Rome. A religious and a political court exist there at the same time, a Pontiff and a Prince; the sovereignty relates at the same time to heaven and earth.

In the year 1821, Rome must have acted according to the principle of this double sovereignty.

Rome was threatened by the revolution of Naples: the principality of Benevento offered itself to Naples, by whom the offer was refused, setting thereby an example of moderation, for which credit has not been given her. There can be no doubt, that if Naples had profited by the absence of the Austrian armies, and had thrown herself upon Rome and the other Italian States, they would have joined in the revolution; Naples concentrated hers in her interior, and has thus set an example of respect for the rights of others, which has been but imperfectly followed.

The Roman States are comprised in the gen-

eral protectorship, which Austria exercises over Italy. She maintains the quality and method of each government, and they have therefore hastened to adhere to the Congress of Laybach, which guarantees to them the continuance of the enjoyment of their territories and of absolute power. It certainly is as well to attach ourselves to that which preserves us.

The governments have returned to religion, and society in general has taken the same direction; religion is become a political lever. This disposition, by generalising itself, guarantees to the court of Rome the peaceable possession of her pacific dominions, as well as the honors, in which it recovers the image of its ancient power. Under a sky again become serene, it has no longer to fear the hostile winds, by which it has been tost about during so many years: if it have lost its own sword, on the other hand, it has not to fear that of others. The papal dominion is a species of *Oasis of peace* in the midst of an armed world, it resembles a temple, around which hymns alone are heard—the shrill trumpet of war, never.

It sometimes happens that one Court is induced to act on a system of grateful condescension to another. That of Rome is much indebted to Austria, who has restored the three legations to it, and disencumbered it of the Neapolitan revolution,

and shews it revolutions flying before her. The sect of the Carbonari is the scarecrow of Austria; when therefore the Pope was seen to excommunicate it, it may be supposed that he was instigated to do so by Austria, in order to complete the work of the Baron de Frimont, who is the real excommunicator of the Carbonari; without the cannon of the latter, they would not have been greatly intimidated by the thunders of the former; a value has been set upon every thing in our days. Whatever may be the consequence of this conjecture, the true friends to the estimation of religious authorities have been grieved to see the Court of Rome begin a tardy campaign against an enemy which it cannot even describe; it defines the word *carbonari* about as clearly as that of *liberal* and *revolutionary* is elsewhere defined. The bull cannot extricate itself from this Neologism, nor particularize any thing; it is all vague, accusing without any precise designation; it is impossible to find out whom it attacks; an action could not be brought in a court of justice in the form in which a penal bull is issued against the chief. It is a political *manifesto*, and not a religious act.

There is nothing more respectable than the authority of the sacred writings; in religion, every thing springs from them; nothing should be more solemn and more reserved than the employment

of them; the bull is prodigal of them, and very uselessly so, for it advances quotations which are applicable to any thing but that against which they are destined. Thus it alleges the texts of St. Paul and other fathers of the church, but these texts are applicable to all States as well as to monarchies. When the words *Omnis potestas a Deo* were used in France and in all Europe, Christophe had them repeated in St. Domingo; the American States did the same and with the same right; for these words relate to the general preservation of society by God, and not to that of any particular society. To call the sacred authorities into contested ground, is to weaken them. Infallibility ought to be inseparable from that which emanates from them. The Pope's bull against the Carbonari has not obtained any consideration in public opinion, nor could it, according to its contents and the spirit of the times; Rome, whose power is founded on public opinion, should use great caution.

Several Concordates are still to be formed in Germany, the Low Countries, and in Switzerland; can this be conceived—what utility can religion and mankind be expected to derive from these adjournments? People accustom themselves to other chiefs, and become indifferent to such fasti-

dious institutions, and to men who are so backward in providing for their wants.

My eyes are always fixed upon the Vatican—there lies my compass; the honor of having from infancy belonged to the clergy, and of having been placed in its highest rank, prescribes this law to me. I examine both alternatively; I follow their daily course with the compass in my hand; I measure the extent and direction of their steps, and every day, with the scales in my hand, I weigh the increase and diminution of their influence. A man, who is attached to them on so many considerations, that exclude at once the idea of malice and flattery, ought to take this daily verification upon himself; he must have the courage to shew them the result of this friendly controul, even at the risk of forfeiting their good opinion. Wherever I turn my afflicted looks, I discover nothing but deluded pastors and flocks astray. Policy is seated by the side of religion in her temples, the priests have become the ministers of the one by means of the other; sent to bless—they curse; to unite—they separate; to pacify—they irritate; to enlighten—they obscure; they are thus in open war with those geniuses who reign over the intellectual world, and to whom the universe has submitted as to its masters; those who were so skilful in rendering the

times an instrument to subdue the times, are now excluded from their times, and pretend to overcome them in favor of those which are past; those, who were the common bond of all, are now become the auxiliaries of a faction which is rejected by all. What a fault, what a future is in store for us! Our feeble voices can no longer restrain the disorders, a much stronger one must be employed. Successor of St. Peter! it is yours that is here required; make it resound within the bosom of your family to bring it back to the paths it has forsaken; it goes astray, it is subservient to a world that makes a tool of it and trifles with it; it has nothing to do with it; make it re-enter its legitimate dwelling, the temple, teach it to divest its language of all bitterness, to separate its ministry from all connexion with worldly interests, and its mind from any co-operation with any faction; restore to Heaven that which it spreads in vain upon the earth. But, above all, and should it even require the whole extent of your authority, for never could its employment be more worthy of praise, make those bands of vagabonds disappear, which assimilate the ministers of the altar in Spain to malefactors, who are the terror of travelers, and which shews the blood of man spilt by those hands which were consecrated to the shedding only that of the Lamb.* This spectacle is

* After the curate *Merino*, the monk *Mauro*, who was field

offensive to religion, to reason, and to the sight; it is hideous and could only have been produced by the spirit of faction which can conform to any thing. Profane Albion would never have tolerated an act with which our afflicted and offended eyes are struck in Spain; a Protestant minister has never been seen scouring the country at the head of armed bands. A period, replete with great trials for Rome, approaches—that of the freedom

officer under the curate, has been hung at Valladolid; does not this excite both pity and horror? A benedictine monk, the field officer of a curate! What a ridiculous and disgraceful scene! A capuchin was arrested at Valencia for preaching against the Constitution and the *Press*. What an assemblage, a capuchin and the liberty of the press! The manœuvres of the clergy are also complained of in Portugal: Have they then, under the impulse of a species of infatuation, sworn to force others to reflect upon the nature of their existence in the social system?

The Bishop of *Ceuta* claims the tythes by divine right, and places them on a footing with the precepts of the *Decalogue*.

A curate in Switzerland has brought himself under the notice of the magistrates of the Canton of Lucerne, for having preached that the rights of nations and popular elections were the inventions of the devil. Did the Prince of Hohenlohe, the Bishop of Bamberg, think of the elevation of his rank, of his name and education, when, in this age, he did not hesitate to re-produce the scenes of Saint Medard, by pretended miraculous cures, which, in a man of his presumed enlightened understanding, can only be ascribed to base motives, and who has exposed himself to the disgrace of avoiding the investigation of competent judges in such a matter, viz. scientific men? What effect are these scenes intended to produce upon religion? What disorders are prepared for the future clergy, and what weapons are put in the hands of their enemies!

of America, constituted as republics. I have long since forewarned her of it. Rome will therefore require all her wisdom and the assistance of Heaven to avoid all error. Three hundred years back, Rome lost a part of Europe, let her take a lesson from what she then did, to guide her in what she will soon be called upon to do.

CHAP. XXV.

M. GUIZOT'S WORK.*

A BOOK may be something more than a book, it may be called an event, and even a very important event. This privilege, it is true, belongs to the smaller number of them, but when so-fortunate a privilege does appear, it must be classed amongst those objects, which, having an influence upon events, thereby merit to be ranked amongst them; it is upon this consideration that I shall treat upon M. Guizot's work, which appears to me to be not the least event of the year, and it is under this title alone that I may be permitted to consider it. My intention is neither to praise or censure it, for I cannot presume to summon my

* This chapter was written previous to the fall of the Ministry, and this crisis, I have no doubt, was hastened by M. Guizot's work. I could not venture to suppose that, while I was writing in the heart of l'Auvergne, my observations were already realized in Paris. If the ministry had not been overturned by the union of the two oppositions, it would have met with the same fate from some other quarter. It was destitute of all hold on the public opinion, and, in our state of civilisation, a ministry, without that hold, cannot support itself any more than a tree without roots in the earth.

masters before my tribunal; civilised Europe has become that of M. Guizot; he has arrived at the point which does not admit of the recognition of any other. A vast and powerful country has, of late years, become an object of perplexed attention to the universe, which is divided between the fear or the confidence which it may conceive or grant to it; this country is depicted and colored in opposite manners by different parties; the ministry of the country raises itself above them, directs it according to its will, is strong in the general submission, and in all those means of which governments have the disposal; but it is sterile in the midst of its riches, it is shackled in its course with its wings spread, it stumbles upon the roads where there are no obstacles, is poor amidst its own resources, existing by loans alternately opened by each party, is varying in its friendships without consolidating any, is threatened by its friends more than by its enemies, is ignorant of its own instruments, of its work, of its ground, and of the spirit of the people which it governs, and from error to error, at length arrives at a situation without egress, and at a state of immobility in which its feet are fastened to the earth by its faults, which fix and rivet them there. In the midst of the diverging oscillations of the directors of power, a man, preceded by the renown which is due to the labors that have long kept him in the very centre of the movement, the springs and tendency

of which he has analysed, raises his voice, and taking the State, as it were, in his hands, turns and exhibits it in every different point of view, calls on the people to follow him in the demonstrations which he makes on it, and paints men and things with equal truth, vigour, and impartiality. To explain every thing, he places his lever on the human heart and mind, analyses both with skill and profound judgment, shews their connexion with the movements of society, respects all that is respectable, surrounds it with new ramparts, puts all false systems and doctrines to flight, and summoning the past as a witness for the future, sure of time, and after having placed a beacon on every rock, shows the inevitable issue of the road that has been taken.

Such was the first writing of M. Guizot. It had great influence on public opinion, which granted to him one of those patents of confidence, that, in the present state of public opinion, carry great weight with them. M. Guizot's name became an authority, and public anxiety greatly desired the continuation of his works. He had justified this in a cause of a novel species, and of great interest, that of recalling the Magistracy to the legitimate exercise of its functions. His influence on the public mind was thus strengthening and extending itself, when, after having given both men and events time to ripen, and

to develop themselves, he again raised his voice more solemn, more severe, and still more penetrating into the interior of things, and in a style both easy and sarcastic; exposed all the errors, crooked paths, false calculations, and embarrassments, in which they had involved themselves; the dangers of badly selected friendships, of dangerous connexions; the impossibility of supporting a broken system, contrary to the nature of things, and to the wishes of the nation, which judges, although it obeys, which does not consent, although it does not contradict, and which, in giving up one day, does not renounce the morrow. By his hands, every veil is torn away. His skilful, vigorous, and well-tempered scalpel lays open the whole structure of the subjects that he anatomises; and their disjointed members have only to reunite, and to move themselves, if they can; that is their business. What he predicted has been fulfilled. It might be said, that events waited his decision to reply to it. Having appeared under so favorable a constellation, this book was found in every hand; it was repeated and commented upon by every tongue; it was the subject of every conversation. Europe will speak of him until she can speak like him. His strength increases by a wisely observed measure. Words, which are the support of the weak, afford him no assistance. His force arises from things, the immoveable rock, the only support which the

strong acknowledge. A liberal enemy, because he knows his strength; he only appropriates the half of it to himself; desirous only of overcoming his adversary without wounding him. Faithful to his own honor, and to that of civilisation, he rejects the dictionary of abuse, whilst he extracts from that of contempt. And what is this? Is it but a book, a simple book? No; books that are only books, are not thus composed. They do not influence, they do not strike the attention in this manner. The *Compte rendu* of M. Nécker, published in 1780, was not only a book, it was moreover a revolution. That of M. Guizot is an event, by which a new authority raises itself in the bosom of our society, and imprints a new face upon it, by presenting it with its most faithful picture.

Let us suppose that a man had been gifted by nature with a voice, sufficiently powerful to be heard by a whole nation, and that, raising himself in the midst of them, he were to address them thus: People, listen to me. I am about to open to you your dearest interests. I have been taught them by reflection, by time, and by its offspring, experience. You know that I am capable of arriving at the knowledge of truth, and that your interest alone inspires me. Believe me, your conductors lead you astray; they are unequal to the burthen which they have taken

upon their shoulders. You have seen them follow doubtful paths. They continue to err; they conduct you to an unexampled situation, to one without issue; they deceive themselves, with regard to their friends, their enemies, and their own instruments. It is necessary that you should advance. They wish you to stand still. They cannot support themselves without maintaining a contradiction with you. If this appeal fixed the attention of the people, and received the sanction of their suffrages, would this be but a book? What would be the respective situations of this public accuser, and of those who were publicly accused? This is what the work of M. Guizot carries with it; this is what induces me to class it amongst the principal events of the times; it is not a mere dissertation upon the condition of the State, as many others are, but it is a real act, an appeal to public opinion, made with the proud conscientiousness of reason, of feeling, and of the goodness of his cause; and with a superiority of talent, which allows of no neutrality of opinion; and we are under the government of opinion; it does not honor all appeals by replying to them, but when it has once taken up the glove, the dispute must be settled.

We will leave all real names out of the question; they only serve to confuse every question. We will, therefore, transplant the scene far from our-

selves. Let us suppose the scene laid in another country. The servants of the prince may be seen to approach him, and to address him in the following terms:—The trust of your authority ought not to be deprived of any particle of that respect which is due to it, by being placed in our hands; that it be efficacious, it is necessary that it should not exist separate from the respect of those hands to which you have confided it. This has been shaken by serious and reiterated attacks, which may be every instant renewed. Your service and our honor cannot be reconciled together, but by the support of our whole strength, or by our separation. Your profound wisdom will point out the means, and it is our duty to solicit you to seek them. Would not the dignity of these words be applauded in this country, and would justice be refused to them? Supposing that a public functionary were, year after year, represented to those whom he governed as incapable of performing his functions, what good could he promise to himself from their continuation, when pursued by a continually excited distrust, and by the irritation of fear? Now let us return to ourselves, and let us ask, what moral force can those men retain, who would propose laws to those, in whose hands they must clearly perceive the writing in which all their errors are engraved, and in which all the motives for diminishing the confidence to be placed in them, are

inscribed? And what will then be the position of the unfortunate public that has to bear all this.

The question here is not to depreciate, to mortify, and, still less, to expel any one. We have not the intention to do the one, nor the power to do the other. But the question here relates to a great position in the political system, a position perfectly novel, for which nothing has been regulated by the laws, and nothing prepared by our customs. Men appear, in this instance, to have been taken by surprise, the effects of which extend far; for it does not permit the prince to remain neuter between his servants and the public, which examines them, and which can neither view them in the same light it formerly did, nor with that entire confidence which commands at once respect for the throne, and the care of their own security to the people. It is by the union of both, that the rights and duties of the citizens can alone be fulfilled.

Some decision is here evidently necessary.

Beyond these considerations, however extensive they may be, I perceive others of a most important nature, so vast is the political horizon and so much does it increase before him who does not wish to circumscribe it.

M. Guizot's work is a thermometer of the actual state of civilisation ; it is like the column that the Egyptian labourer placed in the middle of the Nile to calculate the abundance of the harvest by the height of the waters.

In fact, what an immense progress must not civilisation have made, to permit a man, like the old men, whom Egypt placed near her kings to read to them the account of their actions of the preceding day—to present year after year, the picture of their respective situations to the government and people of a country, without any disturbance to the State, without any contention between individuals, and without danger to the author ; and also that power should feel itself bound to digest, as though impassable, the pain of so lacerating a dissection and to remain exposed to the view of the public, like those unfortunate beings, who are tied down to the tables, upon which art makes them endure the tortures of its assistance ? By what an immense distance is not this system of things separated from that which preceded it, and from that which still prevails in many places ! In ages past, a writer was exposed, for want of liberty, to run risk of a coarse and malignant opposition ; writers then resembled men, who staked their liberty and fortune upon the fruits of surprises on the sentinels of the fiscal. But liberty appeared, and all this

barbarous system disappeared at its aspect. A writer now descends into the arena like a noble combatant: he inscribes his name, raises his visor, sounds a charge and calls his adversary within the lists; society views and protects them and abstains from interference so long as the laws of the combat are observed. How well this marks the progress of reason and the difference of ages! How much has not the unfortunate human species to gain by passing under its laws!

2nd. The intellectual life may be considered, in the degree which civilised societies have already attained, and which they are every day attaining, as the half of their existence. United by and for the pleasure of exercising their faculties, they seek for those subjects which are the best adapted to develope them; every age has had a particular subject to arrest its attention; the subject of the present, is the government; frivolity has banished itself from the mind, and it is only to be found in words, to deprive these occupations of that which would be likely to take attention off them; by this new system of things, Governments are put upon a permanent trial, and without the possibility of declining, seducing or of intimidating judges, who are covered with the buckler of independence by their numbers, and by Society; these latter have, as it were, formed themselves into a grand jury, whose questions the

governments are continually obliged to answer. By a necessary consequence of this disposition, a man, who is in possession of any influence over the spirit of society, associates himself to its empire and partakes of that of opinion above the government itself. The talent of man affords him an access to high functions; bound to the government, his talent is enlisted in its service; dissensions separate him from it, his liberty is then restored to him, he avails himself of it in the same way that the government had made use of its own with respect to him, but he now ceases to belong to it, and has the same rights as all other subjects. M. Guizot affords us a proof of the prudence and discernment that should be observed with regard to talent. The latter belongs to government, it is its first want; all the talents of a country should be on the side of the government, if it separates from them, it will be sure to meet them again. Napoleon found Moreau at Dresden and Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant at Leipsic; in France, he monopolised all the talents, even those who had declared against him; he pensioned M. de Bonald; he courted the Abbé Emery of Saint Sulpice, he made M. de Cheâteaubriant a sort of demi ambassador, and M. de Fontanes, a grand master of a university. He was indifferent only to the impotent. Talent is never neuter; if it does not assist, it combats; if it is neglected, it is not

wanting to itself; if it is insulted, it has its own weapons; it is a State, provided with all the attributes of power; when it is in your power, captivate it, for it is not to be enslaved, but above all, be careful not to irritate it, for it often repays with long suffering, that moment of temporary satisfaction that repulsed it, it may even put those to flight who caused it to retreat.

It requires the concentration of all my powers to resist the impulse, that tempts me to conclude this article by that homage which is due to the incomparable talent and courage of M. Guizot; his work is an eminent service that he has rendered to his country, but what need has he of my praises, and what would one suffrage more add to his renown? I shall therefore restrict myself to saying, that the possessor of the talent, which has been fertile enough to produce in the short space of two years, three such writings as those, for which we are indebted to the pen of M. Guizot, raises a lofty banner and lays a foundation for great hopes, in the bosom of France.

A nation cannot be despaired of, that can pride itself upon such guides and such defenders. No error can be irreparable, when the light is so refulgent and so plentiful. I have but one word more to add, when a battering ram, a catapult of such dimensions, can, without fear of reproach,

plant itself before the ramparts, and destroy them by redoubled attacks, it can only, in the eyes of reason, be puerile to run after a forlorn hope, that can wield only slight and pointless darts. Place by the side of M. Guizot's work, the *N couronné placé sur la converture*, the production of some school boy, which obtained the publicity of a day by means of an abortive trial. When a place is thus dismantled, how can we lose our time in childish hostilities, that are restricted to the picking up of a few grains of sand under the breach?

CHAP. XXVI.

DEMAND OF INDEMNITIES FOR THE EMIGRANTS
IN 1821.

THERE are some propositions which present themselves under so honorable an aspect, that men of the greatest honor do not hesitate to bring them forward. Thus, in 1814, an illustrious warrior considered his honor engaged in being the first to raise his voice in favor of emigration, and in soliciting a triumph for suffering humanity, with the same zeal which had produced him those on the field of battle, perhaps even in combatting the very persons, for whom he was then exerting his interest ; so nearly are humanity and justice allied in the human heart. Alas ! in this glorious character, he was only first in the ranks of good men, for who, that was acquainted with a mine, capable of providing for the incalculable indemnities which have been rendered desirable to so many victims, by the events of the revolution, would not hasten to indicate its source and assist to work it ? Presented in this general view, the question speaks to every heart ; but circumscribed within the sphere of emigration alone, and thus reduced to an exclusive feeling ;

it produces a totally contrary effect; it desires the companions of the same misfortunes to fall back upon themselves, and to ask loudly, whether misfortune also admits of privileges, and why the losses of one only should be reckoned, when all have suffered shipwreck. By thus invoking justice, we begin by committing the most crying injustice, and that of which the sight is the most distinct and the most painful, and which is most revolting to the natural instinct of mankind in favour of equity.

A general demand for indemnity against the losses incurred by means of the revolution, would resolve itself into a question of finance. *Is the State capable of providing for these indemnities, without effecting any change in the public service, or in private fortunes?* Is it reduced to a simple account. The State does not owe its own destruction to any one, nor to any of its members; on the contrary, they ought all to devote themselves to it; nor has the State a right to transfer property from the one to the other. Such being the case, when any members of society have suffered such losses, as by their nature, that is to say, from their extent, are irreparable, then they enter into the deplorable class of these calamities, the weight of which must be borne by the victims who suffer them, such as shipwrecks, inundations, earthquakes, and great conflagrations. The ap-

plication of the principles of private justice cannot here be made; there is no room but for social justice, which embraces the general interests of society, the first of which is its preservation; a preservation, the benefits of which are equally felt by all, and which ought to be considered by them as an indemnification for the sacrifices they may be called upon to make for its preserving support, which they, as well as the rest of the society, of which they form a part, enjoy.

I shall take up the question as it has been put; it did not emanate from me; *An exclusive indemnity in favor of emigration.*

The political and intentional merit of emigration I shall place out of the question, nor shall I mention the classification of emigration, of the authors of it, or of those who obeyed the appeals made to them in the name of honor. I shall not occupy myself with the various periods at which the emigrations took place. I deny myself all reflection upon these points, and shall restrain myself to the examination of the more important parts of the question. In the eyes of the emigrants, emigration is the *beau ideal* of chivalry; it is a species of resurrection of the ancient heroic days. France may have considered it in another light; history may speak of it very differently; thus, a great political discussion is raised, with

which I have nothing to do at the present moment.

At the same time that I partake of the just sorrow that is excited by men who have been deprived of their property, in consequence of the revolution, and of the demand which has been made in their favor, I must also disclose all the errors in prudence it contains, on the side of right and justice. It will then be seen, how ill the means of serving the emigrants have been chosen, and how many dangers have been created for them, probably without suspecting it. Neither the cause, the name, the effects, or the manner of the emigration are in favor in France; it believes the contrary, but it is deceived. A more just appreciation would have taught them, that there are names to which too many remembrances and too many interests are attached, to permit of their consideration not calling forth other interests, and awakening subjects of jealousy. Emigration does not believe it, and is again deceived. Living as a body in the centre of the nation, they ascribe feelings to it which belong only to themselves; they imitate those who are judges in their own cause.

Every claim in favor of emigration will, by strongly affecting public opinion, cause a lively investigation of all the questions with which it is

connected. The bitterness with which such a discussion may be carried on, may easily be foreseen, and then the imprudence of the proposition will be duly appreciated.

I will now declare what I perceive in it. Eyes, more penetrating than mine, will go far beyond these limits, and will discover some additions to be made to what I am about to point out.

1st. The whole social contract, that is to say, the right which any part whatever of an association has to separate from it, to declare it in a state of hostility, to depart from it, and to re-enter it with a foreign armed force. This is the key to the question.

2d. The legitimacy of the revolution. If this be legitimate, emigration is not. This is the preamble to a grand trial, and a vast appeal to the passions.

3d. The history of the times. It will be necessary to determine facts, in order to assign a part to voluntary and systematic emigration, and also to compulsory emigration, as being the consequence of ill-treatment, or of insecurity, in remaining in the interior. An immense and impossible labor must here be undertaken, viz. of classing men and things. How will it be pos-

sible to determine the grounds upon which each person emigrated? There are those who called upon others to emigrate, those who obeyed this appeal, those who have combatted slightly or perseveringly, and those who merely sought a peaceful hospitality abroad.

4th. The public right then in force in France. Was confiscation the legal penalty denounced against an attack by force? Was it considered as a satisfaction for the losses occasioned by such an attack? Was it the uniform legislation of the monarchy, and even that of Europe? Were the precautionary formalities, such as the summons to disarm, and to return to the country, fulfilled? Hence would the question of the legitimacy of the revolution be raised; for if it were legitimate, it possessed the right of decreeing the penalty recognized by law. This question always returns to this point, the legitimacy of the revolution; and when all the laws made during this period are authorised in our codes, how would it be possible to deny these only?

5th. The memory of Lewis XVI. will be brought into Court. This memory is consecrated by misfortune; to touch it would be sacrilegious, but still it would not be possible to dispense with its evidence; for his public acts condemned emigration, and the latter must, in

its own justification, have recourse to secret acts, which are incompatible with the distinguished virtues of this unfortunate prince. Important duties might thus find themselves compromised.

6th. Whence would the indemnity be furnished? By the purchasers? Where are they? By the land? All the places are taken and well guarded. By the public treasury? It would then be necessary to impose additional taxes. This would be a permanent war tax, with which France would be loaded, for the benefit of emigration. Can this be conceived to be to its own interest even? To establish a permanent tax for the emigration, which has been conquered and dispersed over the French territory, and is disarmed as well as the other citizens, after having paid a transient one, which was wrested from us by the armed hands of victorious foreigners, would be doing as much as the Mamelukes can in Egypt. There still remains the *grand-livre*, which, it is clear, was the object that was kept in view. But what would be the amount of the inscription, the mode of distributing the indemnity, and what rule could be established for realising this inscription, the greater part of the proprietors of which would endeavour to dispose of, the moment they were put into their hands?

The amount of the indemnities to cover such

losses, may, without exaggeration, be estimated at the sum of 500,000,000 francs. The inscription would, therefore, at the rate of 80f. amount to 20,000,000 francs. This would entirely absorb the existing sinking fund, which does not actually exceed 20,000,000; and the discharge of the French debt, from which the sinking fund endeavours to free the nation, will thereby be retarded for seven years. The fall of the public funds would be the necessary consequence, as is always the case whenever any addition is made to the grand-livre. It would be extremely dangerous to admit the precedent of recurring to the facility of loading the grand-livre, whenever any extraordinary expense were to be provided for. We might then be certain, that every new necessity would be followed by an application to the same resource, or, in other words, the sinking fund would become like the cask of the Danaïdes, which became empty the moment it was filled.

7th. Emigration has already received an indemnity in the payment of its debts; according to the statements laid before the legislative body which superseded the Convention, by the deputy *Cadmus*, these have been liquidated to the amount of 1,100,000,000 francs.

8th. One part of the emigration, its debts being paid, no longer possessed any thing; will this

part be indemnified, as well as that which was really in possession? In what proportions will the indemnities be granted? Will the heirs of emigrants have any claim, and those who have no children, as well as the fathers of families?

9th. The sufferers, of every other class but the emigrants, will concur to indemnify them, and will not receive any thing themselves! What iniquity!

10th. Those who are *the least in favor with the nation*, viz. those who have carried arms against it, will be the most favored, and those who enjoy the greatest consideration, those who have committed no hostile act, will be the most ill-treated.

11th. The alleged pretext that the nation has profited by the confiscation, includes both doubt and injustice. We must begin by determining the legitimacy of armed emigration. If it be not legal, the claim is without any foundation. The sufferers of every kind have also benefitted the nation, and yet nothing is asked for them? The assignats, reductions of annuities, bons, requisitions, have been very productive to the State; its permanent riches have been augmented by all the suppressions of offices and of rights, that weighed upon industry and cultivation, and this increase has formed a species of treasure, far su-

perior to that which proceeds from temporary seizures, that are intended to cover the expences of the moment; must the State be burthened with the indemnity for all these losses also?

12th. If any indemnity were due to expatriated Frenchmen, it would be to the deposed clergy; their cause is the opposite of that of the emigrants; they were the direct objects of persecution as a professional body; they left the country in virtue of the law, and in virtue of a decree of banishment; the act which has assimilated persons, legally banished and unarmed, to others, armed and voluntarily banished, is a monstrosity in the order of justice; and yet, they do not claim any thing, nor is any claim put in for them. They would have a right to claim pensions that had been assigned to them by the laws, in lieu of the ecclesiastical revenues which they enjoyed. The first confiscation they suffered was the loss of these revenues, the second, the loss of the pensions, and the third, that of their property. This is the most ill-treated class, and the one of which the least notice is taken.

13th. It might be asked why the emigration of the nobles appears to have solely engrossed the attention with respect to the misfortunes of the revolution, and to the losses which have been the consequences thereof. Thence would arise the

picture of the state of emigration with respect to persons, to power, and to the present social system: this examination might instil impressions into the public mind, which it is to the interest of emigration not to excite.

This question could not fail to be brought forward in the existing state of things; aristocracy, which is almost exclusively interested in it, has never lost sight of it. It has made its observations in silence, in conformity to circumstances; but whenever these have appeared favorable, it has returned to it, and will infallibly do so again. Only a few days ago, a petition was presented to the Chamber from the Capital of the Department of Calvados, praying that a tenth of the duties levied by the municipal duties might be appropriated to the *victims of fidelity*. Aristocracy will never lose sight of this indemnity; to the natural desire of riches, which it inherits in common with the rest of mankind, it adds also the instinct of the *Caste*, which teaches it that riches are the necessary support of aristocracy, as well as the true means of maintaining its superiority. What is an aristocracy without superior riches? By claiming indemnities, it forms something in the system of superiority which is equivalent to its urgency in requiring the re-establishment of the Majorats, another instrument of permanent superiority in social order. Aristocracy does not look

to a reinstatement of fortune only, but also to a consolidation of power, and it is thus that we must explain the manner in which it is so careful of itself, while it is so completely forgetful of others.

By following the same line, it will not be difficult to explain the careful tenderness with respect to the land, to public peace, to absolution, to justice, and to the peace of conscience, which has been displayed during the course of this claim, both at the tribune and in the writings which have preceded and accompanied it; certainly nothing can be more affecting, but it must be allowed, that nothing can be more clear. Interest may thicken and multiply the veils, but they remain transparent, and the truth may be seen through all their intricacies.

This enumeration may perhaps attract the attention of the authors of the proposition which I have analysed, to some point that may have escaped their notice; may they conclude from this exposition that a return to such claims is interdicted to them by every motive that can influence those who have the good of their country and of their clients at heart!

The colonists of St. Domingo have experienced dreadful misfortunes; the State has only awarded

them trifling allowances, a miserable and disproportionate indemnification for their losses. Their cause is perfectly different to that of emigration. Their distresses did not arise from their own acts, from their free choice in a political situation, they must be placed in the class of those who have suffered by conflagration or shipwreck; they have not made war upon France, nor have they stirred up enemies against her. They have been wanting in prudence, by multiplying them in their own bosom, by the indefinite increase of the number of negroes, in whom they perceived only an augmentation of riches, whilst these riches concealed the most horrid dangers under a deceitful appearance. The multiplication of negroes has been the ruin of the colonists; when the number of slaves surpassed that of the masters beyond all proportion, the fate of the latter was decided. It is thus that Spain has lost her American colonies; when their population was raised to the proportion sufficient to counterbalance that of the mother country, they endeavored to become independent; this is the eternal law of the colonial system. France not having contributed to the misfortunes of St. Domingo, and not having confiscated the property of the colonists, they may have a claim to her assistance, but not to indemnities.

CHAP. XXVII.

LAWS OF EXCEPTION IN 1821.

WE may now breathe again; they no longer exist, they have been in force sufficiently long, for, since 1814, the liberty of the press did not continue more than ten months, while that of individual liberty, being more favored, lasted three years.

It is to be observed, that these two species of liberty have been shackled at the same time; a thing without parallel in England and the United States, both countries in which the liberty of the press always exceeds that of the person. In both these countries the army would be supposed to be delivered up by lulling the sentinels, which are the public papers.

The law against individual liberty expired at the time fixed by the law, the conclusion of the Session of 1820. A law upon the newspapers was to be presented in the Session of 1821, and the restrictive law was to expire of itself, if the new one were not adopted three months after the opening of the Session.

The laws of exception have become objects of disgust, have been exposed to the violence of public opinion, have been condemned by all parties. They are more insulting than hurtful to those who are the miserable objects of them, and they further present the inconveniences of degrading the ordinary method of legislation, by raising the supposition of its inefficacy, and by inclining Governments to the use of violent remedies.

Let us take a last view of the traces which the promulgation of these laws has left amongst us.

How have the restrictive laws of individual liberty been employed? Moderately. The statement made by the Ministers, asserts, that seven persons only have been arrested under them; This moderation is in conformity with the spirit of modern civilisation, which is inimical to punishments in the face of an attentive people, who are subject to alarm. Have these seven persons been put on trial? No. Were they guilty? The absence of judicial accusation justifies the contrary belief. *Nemo presumitur reus*. Such is the axiom derived from natural right; it adjudges the presumption of innocence to whomsoever has not appeared before the public tribunals. What does this small number of accused persons declare? That the law was unnecessary, and that the common means of repression were sufficient. A

law that is adequate to the restraining thirty millions of people, does not require a special supplement for seven men more, particularly when these very men are totally deprived of all social stability. Such machines as the Cardinal de Richelieu would have directed against the Duke d'Epemon, must not be raised against officers on half-pay. When these great scarecrows, placed in the midst of society, have produced but a trifling effect, and when the net thrown over it has remained empty, it has lost all its efficacy, and this should cause it to be produced only with the greatest circumspection. Have any conspiracies been entered into, under the laws of exception? By an effect, directly contrary to the intention of the legislators, it appears, that more attempts have been made during the existence of these laws, than at any other time. It was under their government, and as if to expose their inutility, that the poor attempt of Bouton and Gravier, the troubles in June, the conspiracy of the 19th August, the one so called of the East, the great and little petards, and the movements at Grenoble, after the occurrences at Piedmont, all took place. Conspiracies are, therefore, entered into in the presence of these laws, the same as in their absence, which is a decisive proof, that no such necessity exists, as to require an infringement of the general order; and if any thing were wanting to complete the demon-

stration of this truth, it would be supplied by the fact, that these disorders ceased with the existence of these very laws.

A great lesson is herein contained, both for those who demanded such laws, and for those who granted them.

During the existence and under the direction of the censorship of the press, those writings have considerably increased that occasioned the trials; the result was, almost invariably, the opposite to that which had been anticipated. This is another proof of the inefficacy of this measure, for these writings have increased in a geometrical progression with the number of attacks upon them, and are similar to the polypus, which are regenerated under the iron that endeavors to destroy them. On every occasion that afforded a subject for attention, the original writings have been seen to produce others, until public attention was exhausted. The tribunals have also denounced these writings as public pests, while the juries have thought them of no consequence, and considered them as perfectly harmless.

It might be asked, whether the censorship that existed answered the intention of the legislator. What were the reasons assigned for its enactment? Was it not in the name of the public

interest and of individual honor, which have both a claim to the protection of society? A protecting power could not degenerate into a power of convenience, foreign to the motives for its creation; the intention of the legislator was distinctly pointed out. Without it, the concession would not have been made; it must, therefore, be adhered to, and no new direction should be given to the law, which was not originally intended. Would the law have been passed, if the necessity of saying nothing that could give offence to foreign susceptibility, had been insisted upon, or if it had been declared, that, holding the power of executing the law, which was granted for the peace of the State and the tranquillity of the citizens, insertion in the journals would be only allowed to mutilated or garbled statements, and that it would be made an instrument to form a personally favourable opinion of that which had been granted only for the public safety. For example, would the censorship have been allowed, if a declaration had been made, that, at the time of the elections, the newspapers, which, in that respect, supplied the deficiency of canvassing, would be rigorously prevented from giving any account of the candidates, which was the only practicable manner, in a vast country, of placing men, whose common interest was involved in the soundness of their choice, in relation with each other? The demand was made in the

last session, and rejected; but it ought to have served as a notice to the censorship. Would this have been granted, if it had been known, that blank sheets of paper would frequently be sent to the subscribers, as happens to us in the Departments? that 120,000 lines would be suppressed in the *Constitutionnel* alone? that the trembling hand of a provincial censor would only move in the direction traced out by the prefecture, and that the analysis of writings, not very pleasing to the governors of the day, would be accompanied by such restrictions as would almost amount to a complete prohibition? Lastly, would it have been permitted, if it had been foreseen that it would have been accompanied with such difficulties, that a censor himself would not be able to justify himself in the eyes of his colleagues, as was the case with Dr. Pariset, then a censor? There are some traits so characteristic, that they complete whatever they lay their hands on.

In matters of legislation, it is more the idea of the legislator, that should be attended to, than the letter of the law, and loyalty requires, that his intention be scrupulously fulfilled; the latter can never be stript of these three characteristics, viz. necessity, universality and sincerity. It is inconceivable, why the common law upon the press should not be applicable to the newspapers; it might be sup-

posed, from all the hubbub that is created, that the editors were a distinct class of men, that they were strangers to society, had no interests to consult, and were persons whom no law could restrain. We might suppose, that an article in a paper were a volcano, capable of overthrowing and reducing every thing to ashes. They conceal from themselves, and as if designedly, that England and the United States permit this species of liberty to its utmost extent, without experiencing those inconveniences, which are so much apprehended elsewhere; the difficulty of framing an efficient law for the newspapers has been greatly insisted on; why should this trouble be taken? There are the common laws, and there is nothing in the composition of a paper, to which they may not be applied.

In the beginning of the present session, the ministry proposed a prorogation of the censorship for five years; it was impossible to imagine any measure more likely to affect the public mind, after all the repugnance that the two chambers had evinced at the nature and support of these laws; what cause could the ministry assign for fixing upon this distant period? How could it be certain, that they would cease to be necessary at that time, or that they would be required till then? The two years apprenticeship, that have

already past, are not reckoned in these five years ; it would have been more candid, to ask for a perpetual censorship. This project which perhaps placed the minds of its authors in the most prominent light, has fallen with them ; their successors have withdrawn it, and the loss of this really inconceivable plan is a solid motive of consolation for that of its projectors.

CHAP. XXVIII.

OPPOSITION OF EUROPEAN ARISTOCRACY TO THE
IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY. EXTRACTS FROM
ROBERTSON.*

SINCE the time of Louis the XIVth, aristocracy had been either confined within the courts, and eclipsed by them, or, had retreated to the provinces, and had resigned all influence over social orders; it slumbered.—The revolution, by touching on the questions of social order, roused it and caused it to consider within itself, what place am I to occupy in this new world that is forming itself? Equality forms the basis of it; it is the sentence of my destruction, for I am inequality itself; we must begin the struggle again, that I have maintained for so many ages against nations and kings; now let us join with the latter, let us infuse apprehension for their own existence into them, let us seek out all inequalities, and form a barrier against the torrent that threatens us, for if it be not arrested, it will overwhelm us. Such have been the auspices, under which aristocracy has raised its banners in France, and in the rest of Europe, since 1789; whatever our political

* Introduction to the History of Charles Vth.

professors may assert, there do not exist two aristocracies. At this period, the grand social reformation burst forth, which substituted regular for irregular, public for hidden, governments, principles for fancies and inconsiderate habits. The ecclesiastical, noble, and parliamentary aristocracy, had accelerated the development of the principles of the revolution, by the manner in which it had regulated the public affairs, which at that time were almost wholly confided to their management; it caused the explosion of the revolution by its constant opposition to the court, which was thereby driven to have recourse to the States general; in this struggle, it changed the weapons it made use of, but the intention remained the same; it opposed the court by parliamentary resolutions, or by the judgments of the States and of their body, as it formerly had done with deadly weapons, and from the interior of their castles. On the occurrence of misfortune, aristocracy has repudiated the fruits of its manœuvres, and has disavowed the consequences of its work; and in this it acted very considerately, for they are very opposite to its actions and expressions since 1789. But aristocracy cannot disavow M. Salier, a writer of their own class, who, like a man of honor, following only the dictates of truth, has traced the picture of events anterior to 1789, from which the descent of the revolution evidently flows from aristocracy, so

that the aristocracy, subsequent to the revolution, has been but the democracy, anterior to that same revolution.*

The Marquis de Ferrières, who was attached to aristocracy, and who went through the ordeal when he was seated on the right bench of the constituent assembly, could not avoid the evidence of this truth, and has transmitted to us the very important memoirs, which throw so much light upon the times in which he wrote.

A proof is afforded by these two works, that by conforming to the laws which govern all bodies, the French aristocracy has always regulated its conduct by the laws of its own nature, which is to strive for superiority; when this was vested in the kings alone, it declared against them, and turned against the people, when they endeavored to participate in the superiority which it claimed as its exclusive privilege. Every thing that threatens this attribute, becomes its enemy.

It is in this manner alone, that we can explain the great fact, which the history of Europe for the last twelve hundred years brings forward at every instant, and which has given Europe the direction

* The *Annales Françaises*, by M. Salier, master of requests.

that is traced out in every page of history. Thus aristocracy has shewn itself the same since 1789, that it had been for ages before, always opposing that which stood in the way of its superiority.

By following its steps, it will be seen, whether it has for an instant since 1789, ceased to declare itself against religious toleration, civil liberty, the progress of the human mind, the freedom of cultivation by the suppression of the heavy taxes, with which it was overburthened, and that of industry, by the breaking of its ancient chains. Aristocracy, being of itself a law of exception within the bosom of society, favors the laws of exception that correspond to its own nature; it delights in the shackles of the press as a means of repressing that which equalises every thing—the mind; as it is anxious for command, it hates constitutionality, which recognises only the law; when it accepts the constitutional system, it is only as an instrument of dominion—when it does not answer its purposes, it would willingly banish it from the universe; it persecutes this system in Spain and Portugal, as equalising, and as being an auxiliary to that of France; it fears its moderation, which will preserve it, and applauds its excesses, by which it may be destroyed. Those qualities, which are proper

for its destruction, are the only ones which it approves.

Listen to its organs, they will tell you, that *Telemachus has filled twenty courts with dolts*, that the *Petit Carême* of Massillon gave the signal for revolutionary ideas, that population increases in an antisocial manner, that mutual instruction is a work of corruption, that the good discipline of youth can only proceed from the *ignorantins* and jesuits, and that the world is more in want of discipline than instruction. It is that which makes them proclaim the excellence of large possessions and corporations, whence proceed the lords and peasants, syndics and classed mechanics, two means of its power. It is the love of power that makes it dread the mind, as being unruly, unmanageable and inaccessible to its power; it has no objection to its fruits, but it is fearful of its independence, and of the effects of it which create equals in those, whom it only desires for its subjects. We have thus heard some of its supporters in their epic poems, celebrate the happiness of people who cannot read; these men do not speak thus from hatred of instruction or letters, but it is the force of instinct, by which they perceive a possible spirit of disobedience in the cultivation and progress of the mind.

The following picture will furnish a demonstration of this truth; it is sketched by the hand of one of the most distinguished English historians, the celebrated Robertson, who has followed aristocracy through all the different windings of its constant opposition to the progress of civilisation, in the exposition of that which may truly be called the resurrection of the human mind, which forms the Introduction to the History of Charles Vth.

The following is worthy of attention :

Page 47. "The nobles oppose the suppression of judicial combat.

P. 40. "Also that of private war.

P. 52. "The establishment of appeals to the royal courts.

P. 138. "The establishment of the Police for the public security, and, in Spain, that of the holy brotherhood.

P. 471. (*Proofs and illustrations.*) The affranchisement of the Serfs, and,

P. 481. (*Idem.*) Ordonnance of the famous

Bertrand de Guesclin, declaring the custom of enfranchising slaves a pernicious innovation.

P. 72. " In every country, a numerous body of nobles, who continued to be formidable, notwithstanding the various expedients employed to depress them, watched all the motions of their Sovereign with a jealous attention, which set bounds to his ambition, and either prevented his forming schemes of extensive enterprise, or obstructed the execution of them.

P. 116. " Alphonso, King of Naples, thinking he might crush the power of the Barons at once, by cutting off the leaders of greatest reputation and influence among the Neapolitan Barons, ventured to commit one of the most perfidious and cruel actions recorded in history; the order of nobles was, nevertheless, more exasperated than humbled by their measures. The resentment which these outrages excited was so violent, and the power of the malcontent nobles was still so formidable, that to these may be ascribed in a great degree, the ease and rapidity with which Charles VIII. conquered the kingdom of Naples.

P. 135. " As the overgrown power and high pretensions of the nobility were what the monarchs of Spain felt most sensibly, and bore with the

greatest impatience, the great object of Ferdinand's policy was to reduce these within more moderate bounds. Under various pretexts, he did not give the entire conduct of affairs to persons of noble birth, who were accustomed to occupy every department of importance in peace or in war, as if it had been a privilege peculiar to their order to be employed as the sole counsellors and ministers of the crown.

P. 443. (*Proofs.*) "The same spirit of encroachment which rendered fiefs hereditary, led the nobles to extort from their sovereigns hereditary grants of offices. Many of the great offices of the crown became hereditary in most of the kingdoms in Europe; and so conscious were the monarchs of this spirit of usurpation among the nobility, and so solicitous to guard against it, that, on some occasions, they obliged the persons whom they promoted to any office of dignity, to grant an obligation, that neither they nor their heirs should claim it as belonging to them by hereditary right.

P. 534. (*Idem.*) The justiza of Arragon was appointed to check the domineering and oppressive spirit of the nobles, as well as to set bounds to the power of the monarch, and therefore he was chosen from an order of citizens equally interested in opposing both."

By this exposition, aristocracy is seen to oppose itself both to the progress of the polity of the people, and to that of the authority of kings; its opposition may be dated from the earliest ages; it has extended itself to all places and to all periods; it has been bequeathed to the children, as it was transmitted to their ancestors, because it is not the attribute of any isolated individuals which are liable to change, but because it forms a body; the spirit of which, like that of all bodies, is unfailing. The conformity of this attribute with corporations is the reason why they are in favor with the aristocratical body, which perceives a principle of uniformity in them, that may furnish it with a principle of strength.

Aristocracy does not oppose itself to the improvements of society from any antipathy to them; but from the apprehension that they may produce a diminution of obedience; aristocracy is always alive to the preservation of the rank it occupies; it only admits things at a distance, the least approach is prohibited; its affection always revolves into protection, and, in its continued action, like the elements, it acts according to the nature of its formation; it is in itself a social element, it cannot secrete itself from the necessary effects of its formation, and to depict that which it has done would only be to paint it as it is and as it ever

will be. We are not here to accuse it, but to describe it.

Far be from any one the idea of criminating aristocracy, it cannot be otherwise than what time and its works have shewn it to us; thus subscribing to the improvements of society, it has laid aside the former abruptness of its proceedings, and it has become tinted with the colors of the times it has passed through; it has followed the path traced out by civilisation, but it has not relinquished its rights; it pursues them, no doubt, with less vehemence than it would have done in other times, but it avails itself of all its means to regain its natal superiority, because it does not look upon society as the reservoir of the common advantages of mankind, but divesting itself of the idea of society, to pursue that of power, it only regards mankind as beings born to subordination under chiefs who are and cannot but be identified with itself.

Aristocracy is not, naturally, oppressive; every one who submits to it will find it kind and benevolent, but every one who aspires to partake of its superiority will find it inexorable; like the lion, that disdained to attack any thing which did not cross its path, the Venetian aristocracy, the true model of aristocracy, was most kind to

whoever did not oppose it, and turned away its eyes from a scrutiny of its actions. Aristocracy is equally averse to the incredulous, to competitors, and the inquisitive; these are three objects of its natural antipathy, because it is aware that they are equally dangerous to the constant object of its solicitude—its superiority.

CHAP. XXIX.

FRANCE.

THIS country partakes of the prosperous state of the Continent; all the *materiel* of France is admirable, its treasury and granaries are replenished. Public credit, which has gone through the severest ordeals it has ever experienced, has risen, strengthened by them; and this is the result of every trial that is not fatal. The public funds* of France have risen to the highest rate they ever reached under the imperial system; but they are now placed on a more solid foundation. Their real tendency is to a continual rise; the little variations they experience do not arise from themselves, but from external circumstances, which have no extensive influence; for, after a slight deviation, they always return to their improving condition. Industry daily receives a new impulse; immense regions have of late years become fields of industry, which animate and give them a new aspect; the population exceeds 30,000,000, and

* This was written previous to the late events, but they make no alteration in the actual state of things. There is not one dollar or one grain of corn less, there is only a decrease of confidence.

increases in a geometrical progressive proportion.* No limits can be prescribed to this increase of prosperity, considering the climate and the soil of France, the extent of her territory, and the genius of her people; she has made a great stride in this career of increasing opulence, by adopting the system of internal canals, undertaken by individuals. She is thus placed in the right road. Individual interest has learnt to substitute itself for the Government in all undertakings of public utility, which is a certain means of securing their better and more speedy execution, and to enrich both the public and itself. Individuals have thus, for some years past, undertaken the erection of several bridges, and the improvement of some roads, which would have been neglected too long, had they waited for the convenience of the public treasury. France has, in this instance, followed the example of England, where every public undertaking that favors private interest is executed by it, and is completed by the authority of Parliament; this has created, and does daily create, a great number of establishments that are useful to the public, and which, without being any burthen

* Moniteur, 20 December, 1821.

Population of France in 1820.

Eighty-six Departments.....	30,407,907
Births.....	992,023
Deaths.....	786,338
Excess of Births.....	205,685

upon the treasury, considerably enrich individuals. This is the perfection of this part of public economy.

France is not the perverse country, which it has too long pleased a morose party to represent as an object, deserving of the anger of heaven and earth. That ardent love of morality, that strenuous hatred, which virtuous souls feel against the disorders of their times, concealed a cloak of hatred against the existing times; every virtue must be attributed to past ages, before the present could be accused of every vice. Penetrating eyes have not been mistaken on this point, they have discovered the truth—the libel of the one is the encomium of the other. We may now quiet ourselves, with respect to the dangers of morality in France, according to the official statement of criminality, specified in the note.* It is with the most lively

* *Moniteur*, 20 November, 1821.

Criminality.

1816.—On Trial.....	9,890
Condemned to Death.....	414
————— Hard Labour and Confinement...	6,807
Acquitted.....	3,685
1817.—On Trial.....	14,116
Condemned to Death.....	556
————— Hard Labour and Confinement...	9,431
Acquitted.....	4,715
1818.—On Trial.....	9,722
Condemned to Death.....	324
————— Hard Labour and Confinement...	6,712
Acquitted.....	3,010

satisfaction, that this increasing amelioration of the public morals is perceived, which it is but just to attribute to the better condition of society, and not to those fantastical causes with which we are amused. What influence then have *those so called fatal doctrines* on this system, when a minister declared in the last session, that out of *five criminals*, there were *four* who could not read? Now let Voltaire and Rousseau be accused.

I know not whether religion be so much practised in France as it is spoken of, but it is certain, that there is no country, in which it has been more spoken of since 1814; nothing else is to be met with in the public papers, which, previous to the revolution, scarcely ever attracted the notice of the public to it; it was then consigned to the temples, its natural place of abode; now the tribunes resound with it, as the pulpits did formerly. There is no parallel to this, to be found in any other country. Religion had been encouraged by a general movement, which might be

1819.—On Trial.....	8,202
Condemned to Death.....	311
————— Hard Labour and Confinement...	5,202
Acquitted.....	2,809
1820.—On Trial.....	8,011
Condemned to Death.....	304
————— Hard Labour and Confinement...	5,202
Acquitted.....	2,809

considered the stronger, and as producing a more lasting impression, from the circumstance of its having been spontaneous; none of its legitimate qualities could experience any opposition, and her conquests were strengthened upon the immoveable basis of the dearest interests of society. By what lamentable error has this admirable position been disturbed; and why, when no external enemies were to be perceived, have they been found in the modern spirit of the clergy? Hostile man has completed his work, his hand has sown dissension in the field of the father of the family. Politics have seized upon the clergy, it has delivered itself up to a party, whose interests it confounds with those of religion, because her name and her language are perpetually on its lips, and its external acts are conformable to her practice. I will refer the clergy to fifty years hence, perhaps to a much less distant period; and it is with sorrow that I proclaim to it, that it will then weep over its present measures, and above all, over that which now inspires it with joy. The heart of the clergy is upright and pure, but its mode of action is erroneous, and will become fatal. It should enquire into the nature of the force of the philosophers against religion, and then examine, whether it does not now tend to its reproduction against her, although with the purest intention of serving her, but at the same time, in complete ignorance of that which could contribute to it. The heads of some of the

members of the ancient clergy decline daily; they are men, formed in better times, and gifted with a calmer spirit. Experience vanishes with them, and good traditions disappear; in their stead, France is inundated with a swarm of young priests just issuing from the Seminaries, who are but slightly instructed in the sciences, who are strangers to the knowledge of the world and of mankind,—who are educated in the rules of the most rigid piety by teachers, more gifted with devotion than with intelligence, and who, in the warmth of their zeal, prune the tree with a rough hand at the risk of ruining it, but whose roots would have been better strengthened by delicate attention. The young clergy infuses grief and consternation into the minds of all those, who are capable of judging of the consequences of misplaced zeal, which is the open auxiliary of a party which France suffers, but does not adopt. The clergy has already been the cause of great evil to religion, without being conscious of it; those who were again inclining towards it, are absenting themselves, as may have been seen by some discussions, which afforded an opportunity to certain motives for opposition to burst forth; these did not relate to religion, but to the spirit of her ministers, who are as much feared, as she is herself desired.

Social life in France has always presented the aspect of the greatest comfort; she has not lost the

glorious prerogative of attracting to herself every thing which is in search of pleasure or instruction. Freedom and safety are there to be found in the highest degree; opulence and mediocrity are there equally satisfied and protected, and the life in so temperate a climate, on a soil so fertile and hospitable, in the midst of a lively, enlightened and polished people, offers objects of satisfaction to all wants and all wishes in a greater abundance and taste than in any other country of Europe. If the gods were to fix their abode upon earth, France, and especially its capital, would be the object of their choice.

This aggregate of physical treasure is to be found under a government, whose organisation is such, that its continued strength is as powerful at the extremities as at the centre. Proceeding from the hand of the most skilful artist in power that ever existed, it is not equalled in Europe, or in the world; it unites the energies of the opposites, viz. those of the constitutional system with those of absolute power, which appear to have vanquished their ancient animosity in order to fortify the government by their union. Power descends in France in one unbroken chain from the throne to the cottage, from the President of the Council to the *garde champêtre*; there is not the smallest void in the channels of authority; every thing ascends from the lowest to the highest without interruption.

or delay ; and to complete the inevitable net, that is thus spread over the whole territory, the orders of government are transported through the air by ingenious machines, by the aid of which, the frontiers are opened or closed in an instant ; all hope of flight is destroyed, when [an asylum is become impossible in a land, traversed by a thousand roads, and penetrated by the always watchful eye of the administration. In such an order of things, the citizen always finds himself single handed against the whole of the public force ; and the feeling of his own inferiority, and his isolated position against a collective force, incline him to resignation, which becomes a law of prudence by means of his weakness. We must go still further and assume, that when a nation has felt the rough hand of power, irresistible in its exactions, the feeling which the latter have created subsists even after they have disappeared ; the fibre of terror continues to vibrate long after the appearance of those who occasioned it, and fear survives danger. A certain moralist has said, that a man is always afraid of what has once frightened him ; this is applicable to nations, as well as to individuals.

In the present state of society, all important individual existence has disappeared, the whole force has been restored to the State ; power has been taken from individuals, to be transferred to, and blended together in the common reservoir of

the public powers. What individual is there now, who could oppose the government with any prospect of success? Where are the Guises, the Condés, the Colignis, the Montmorencis, the d'Epernons, the Gastons and the Cardinal de Retz, who, could he have buckled a sword to his side, would have been superior to them all? There is nothing of this kind existing; society now contains only isolated individuals, who have no connexion with their neighbours; and the greater part of whom, are on account of the mediocrity of their fortunes, more devoted to their employments from the necessities of their subsistence, than from personal affection; obedience and the employment are then linked to private interests, a tie, that is very strong, and which is become general.

Society, in France, has many charms; domestic life is gentle, no misery is felt by the citizens; that which might be vexatious, does not exist, there are so many inducements to inactivity and slumber in the people, and when these composing qualities are distributed over a nation of *rather* a *forgetful* nature, the whole of these dispositions greatly add to the facility of the movements of the Government. It is, therefore, pitiful to hear men venting their lamentations over the weakness of the Government; it requires nothing but to know its strength, and to manage it with skill; it will find it fully adequate, for if any crime

is committed here, it is not in deed, but in appearance only.

In a preceding chapter, I have described the political state of France, with respect to her external relations. It was there seen that she possesses consideration, a part of which must be ascribed to that which the Prince inspires; but that she was not invested with any real power; the assistance or concurrence of France, will only be admitted or claimed in case of any extraordinary occurrence in Europe, or in cases of great emergency; she will be admitted to consultations in the great cabinets, but not to decisions; she will have a claim to respect, and will be the object of it; more politeness will be shewn to her than at the time of the partition of Poland; but she will now, as she was then, be kept at a distance from important political decisions, for power is not on her side, it has returned to the north.

The important transaction of every constitutional country, is the Session of the bodies which frame the laws; the important event to France in 1821, is therefore, the Sessions of the Chambers.

An ardent friend, I might say, a zealous apostle of the constitutional system, which is that of legal freedom, I cannot be suspected of transgressing that sacred regulation in the examination I am

about to begin, of the principal characteristics of the Session of 1820, as well as in that of some of the objects that have attracted a portion of its attention.

During the framing of a law, the citizen has the right to endeavor to act upon the mind of the legislator, keeping within the limits of circumspection, and of respectful expression. When the law is framed, he has also the right of noticing its effect, of pointing out its defects, to claim its revisal, always observing the same rules of conduct. It is not in vain, that the doors of the place, where the laws are discussed, are opened to him, and that he is called to assist at them; he is present, in order to procure an exact knowledge of every thing that enters into the formation of a law, to acquire new motives to strengthen and guide himself in the execution of them, and also new intelligence to communicate to the legislator himself. The nature and effect of a representative government, thus develop themselves; the rights of the legislator and of the citizens, those of the law upon the citizens, and of the latter upon it, thus harmonize together, for an action and reaction exists between them. The system of publicity established amongst us, has changed all our relations to the formation of the laws, which were framed in secret. The motives of the legislator being then

unknown, all discussion upon them would have been rash; but, on the contrary, in the present system of publicity, this discussion has been made legal by the exposition of the views of the legislator, and by the part he has induced the citizens to take in them, by inviting them to be witnesses thereof. It is this, which renders the imputations employed in the tribunals, of exciting to a disobedience of the laws, of contempt for them and other similar forms, inapplicable to the present times, when no formal provocation, or insulting words or suppositions are addressed to the legislator.

It is upon these principles, that I proceed to this examination, for they are the only true ones. I will begin by paying due respect to the talents that have shone forth during the last session; as a Frenchman, I will return my thanks to those, who have conferred these honorable titles upon my country, and which have insured to France, that superiority, which properly belongs to her in every thing she undertakes; for it cannot be doubted, that the French discussions, both in importance and in form, have been greatly superior to the English debates, which have been trifling in importance, with the exception of the Irish Catholic question, and have displayed but little talent. The last session of the English Parliament, may be said to have been but one

continued sanction, or species of confirmation, of the ministerial propositions; instead of which, in France, they have encountered a lively opposition, and have only prevailed by means of the weight of the majority. The French tribune raised itself at the commencement, at the glorious time of the Constituent Assembly, to a level with the English one, and frequently surpassed it; it ought hence to have taken warning, that a rival was creating in its neighbourhood, who would dispute its ancient honors, and would perhaps eclipse it. This tribune has been equal to the grandeur of its vocation, and threatens that of Westminster with a lasting eclipse, for, at least at present, there is no comparison between them. The subjects discussed in France are of much higher interest, and the manner of deliberation infinitely surpasses that of England in solemnity.

It has been with great pleasure, that we have remarked during the last session; the development of those talents, which have been for some time exercising themselves; those, that were ripened, have not fallen off, they have all shewn intelligence, brilliancy, variety, depth of understanding, sometimes energy, and frequently subtilty without obscurity, shrewdness without weakness, and this honorable qualification has been apportioned to all parts of the assembly; for whatever objections I may entertain to certain opinions, I cannot

in justice, deny the qualities of rhetoric to some of the speeches that have been delivered in support of them, and which some of them have displayed in a considerable degree.

It is with the laws as with children; when they are brought forth, every one hastens to draw their horoscope and to discover their similitudes. In order to form a correct judgment of them, we must wait till their effect and their spirit have shewn themselves; we can then pronounce upon them with certainty.

The result of the election law of 1820 was awaited with impatience; some raised it into the palladium of France, others augured less favorably of it, and the latter appeared to be justified by the elections; above all, it was necessary to ascertain what advantage the ministry would derive from the auxiliaries it had sought. It received many warnings, of which it took no notice, both in obtaining the law and in the formation of the electoral colleges, it shewed itself equally ardent and equally favorable to the system and to the men who are opposed to it.

It was told, that the double vote, which the charter did not recognise, would determine the superiority in the colleges in favor of the aristocracy—the latter did prevail in them.

It had been told, that the members of the aristocracy would appoint each other—they have done so.

It had been told, that the men of 1815 would return—they have returned and many others with them.

It had been informed, that the number of their adherents would increase every year, and that at length a great proportion of the French legislature would consist of numbers, more or less attached to the noble class, highly respectable as to their private virtues, but destitute of the preparatory education and of the necessary inclination for engaging in public affairs. Their number has increased from year to year; it will continue to do so, and by the same means.

It had been told, that this formation, by multiplying the elections among the class of the nobles, would end by giving the appearance of a House of Peers to a democratic assembly; the former are already in great disproportion, considering the aggregate number of the members and the mass of the French nation, that is not noble. On the fifth renewal according to this law almost the whole of the Chambers will be *noble*, this result is inevitable.

It had been told, that the effect of this law would be to force each party to choose between two extremes—this has been the case.

It had been told, that when the aristocracy once became possessed of power, it would naturally endeavour to accomplish the fulfilment of its wishes—it has strived to do so.

It had been told, that there would be found competitors for its power, and that they would endeavour to share of it—it has been obliged to admit two of its members.

It had been told, that they would oppose it most strongly; the opposition it has experienced has been the most strenuous and determined.

And lastly, it was told, that it would be supplanted by it. The union could not last to a second sitting, it was obliged to dissolve the very first day.* In the possession of this mass of facts, we may presume ourselves warranted to investigate the causes which produced them, to present them to this Ministry, thus place before it the picture of its errors. That member of it, who, on returning thanks to his new auxiliaries after the

* Vide the work on the Election Law. 1 vol. 8vo. 1820. Sold by Bechet l'ainé.

adoption of the law, said to them in a triumphant tone, We have saved the monarchy, may now see what he has saved. He will have plenty of time to reflect upon it, and to enquire of himself, whether monarchies are to be saved by giving way to the impulse of the moment, or by relying only on the nature of things. Centuries of confusion are sometimes created by endeavouring to avoid that of a day, and this has been the case with the late Ministry. What a ridiculous system has it not followed? I say followed, because it did not even invent it; it found it already traced out, and only followed the beaten track. France is divided by two systems, and this always happens at the conclusion of great commotions, which have not been decided. The force of genius consists in turning every point to advantage, that is most firmly grounded in reason and in strength, that is to say, on the interests of the country; this is the only manner of coming to a conclusion; it is beyond mortal power to make two great and opposing interests proceed on a line and parallel to each other, by adding a third party to temper, and to subdue the one by the other. Such was the conduct of Catherine de Medicis, who not daring to adhere strongly either to the Catholic or to the Protestant standard, formed a third party, which perpetuated dissensions, and reduced her to the necessity of having recourse to the St. Bartholomew; thus calling in crime to the assistance of weak and jealous ignorance, she began to

exterminate that, which her skill was impotent to restrain or to unite. Between two extremes, the system of moderation is sure to be crushed, after having undergone many painful fatigues.

This system was formed in France towards the year 1816. The two extreme parties not affording satisfaction, a third, a centre, was raised, formed of public functionaries and men of honorable feelings, but placed under the rod of fear, and, above all, prejudiced against *liberal ideas*. This was, then, the capital enemy, for, since that time, another has been discovered. But how could any person, with the least appearance of reason, or hope of duration, (and without duration, what idea of ability can be formed of the government of a State?) flatter himself with the idea of maintaining a political system with such frail supports? Personality has nothing to do with this question; but how could it, in good faith, be said to a nation, It is proper that the public functionaries should form the ground-work of your representation? Could the impropriety of this escape the penetration of so many men, who are greatly interested in knowing and explaining every thing? How could silence be imposed upon the press, which is anxious to expose every thing that is absurd in this system? Has not France resounded with bitter reflections against its continuance, ever since its first establishment? Has not criticism clung to each of its

members? Has not this system discovered an appeal to private ambition, as a reward for its pliancy to authority? The reproach is a serious one, and such as would be felt by every man; and has it not been generally pointed out? The men who formed this branch of the system, could not always remain in the state of fear they had been placed in; it was impossible but that they should discover the nature of the character they were made to assume, or that they should shake off their first impression, the natural effect of which was to become weaker. They must inevitably, at length, be rejected at the elections, which has been the case, and which could not fail to happen. The bases of the ministerial system were, therefore, purely ideal; it was a species of *jen d'esprit*, but without foundation or solidity. Thus the Ministry, by not being capable of adopting a decided character, has found itself exposed to the irony of both parties, to exist upon loans, drawn alternately from the right and the left, and was at last reduced to flight, when these two extremes united for its destruction. It must then have felt the inutility of its system, and all that a minister exposes himself to, when he engages in such contests without a proper, independent, and superior force. Such an occurrence has never happened to the English Ministry; it would never commence or pursue a career without having calculated and strength-

ened its ranks. The creators and creatures of this system will vainly endeavor to throw the blame on the other parts, or on the impossibility of doing better, which are the excuses only of weakness and mediocrity. With the exception of religion, governments are omnipotent in governing mankind. History furnishes us with a thousand examples, that they have only to see and to wish, and men will not be wanting, when they know where to seek, and how to call them. Abundance has been a thousand times seen to spring up, where, under other hands, sterility alone was perceptible. In this case, the fault lies with those in whose hands the direction has been placed since 1814. As they were weak, so have they restricted themselves to weak things, whilst France required those of the utmost strength. The Ministers have succeeded each other, but the same spirit remained, and the result has been continually growing worse. What a difference would it not have made, if, instead of employing this middle system, and of expending so much labor on the regulation of elections, the plan traced out by the nature of things, that is to say, the new state of France, had been followed. If no other art had been employed to influence the elections than to awaken, and to cause sentiments, most worthy of citizens, to predominate among the French, and, abstaining from all influence over the mind of any one, to declare, with

noble confidence, that no choice was either feared or desired. By thus placing themselves on an elevated position, they would have forced others to endeavor to raise themselves to it, and would, at the same time, have rendered France more peaceable, and given an instructive lesson to the world.

Men accustomed to crooked or oblique paths, may stigmatize this as an idle system, as Utopian. But a few years ago, this was called *ideology*. What has become of the *anti-ideologists*? Let it be received as certain, that, in most cases, strict morality is a skilful virtue in the government of affairs. The common class of men consider it as an imposition; let them talk, and it will be seen, what conclusion they will come to at last. Many problems, by which we are tormented, may be fully explained, and favorably solved by two words, if there were sufficient strength of mind to examine them candidly. These two words are, *govern well*. They embrace all the election laws and many others. In other respects, the last session and the commencement of the present one have rendered an inestimable service to France, on two grounds.

1st. By making every one aware of the nature of aristocracy, which is ungovernable, intractable, yields to no consideration, and incessantly as-

pires to power, without respect to any person whatever.

2d. The central and stationary system is, at length, at an end. We may now hope to distinguish one color, and to perceive one direction, although I am far from saying which; but I may now say, as well as every one else, that there will be one of some kind. Something, at least, is gained, by emerging from doubt and uncertainty.

Let us now proceed to the laws in detail, which were passed during the session of 1820. I shall restrict myself to the principal ones. I am not aware whether the corn law has produced the expected effect. The address of the Chamber of Deputies, on the opening of the sessions of 1821, asserts the negative. The Government has replied in the affirmative. Whichever way it may be, the mind of the people continues to be much agitated upon this question; which, interesting it much, has always been an abundant source of suspicion and apprehension to it. Unfortunately, the long discussion that took place upon this subject has only settled one point, viz. that, during the last thirty years, the importation has always exceeded the exportation. The official documents leave no doubt as to this truth. Thus will the great error be destroyed, which has always been so long en-

graven in the minds of the French, that, in one abundant harvest, their territory produced sufficient for three years' consumption. Exaggeration alone should have put people on their guard against its own consequences, for what could a country have done with the surplus of several successive abundant years?

But the object most likely to arrest the attention during this discussion is the contradiction that has always existed upon a very important article, viz. the price of corn imported at Marseilles from Odessa. This article has never been agreed upon, some stating it at a much higher rate than others. Two things have here been brought to light :

1st. The opposition of the agricultural districts to the populous and manufacturing districts, the cultivation of which, however, is not adequate to their wants. Thus Provence, Marseille, and Dauphiny insist upon importation, at the same time that Burgundy and Languedoc are as violent against it. These two interests often clash together, and it is a matter of great difficulty with the governments to reconcile them.

2nd. The creation of an *agricultural India in the south of Europe*, and a new Marine established by the Greeks on the rocks of the Archipelago. A new commercial world is forming itself in that

region, but to the disadvantage of Europe, as was the case when that in India was formed at the time of the discovery, for this trade is almost entirely carried on with ready money. The emancipation of America will subject Europe to a new trial of the same kind, for her virgin soil will produce harvests which it will be impossible for the harrowed soil of Europe to equal; the latter will not be able to maintain a competition with America. The law of endowments was contested with acrimony; it gave occasion to personalities, and to reproaches against the revolution; the opportunity was eagerly embraced, and pictures were traced, such as might be expected from the vehemence of passion. The ministry very properly conceived itself called upon to complain of the spirit that was manifested upon this occasion, for its plan was founded in justice, and, by including all rights and all persons at the same time, it shielded itself with the honorable buckler of impartiality. It may easily be imagined, that this violent discord was not to be classed amongst the slightest causes of the dissolution of the alliance, that had been formed between the ministry and those who are become its adversaries.

On the discussion, improperly termed, on ecclesiastical pensions, the Ministry saw its demand surpassed, contrary to the laws of the royal initiative. One party was for immediately calling

the whole extent of the Concordate of 1817 into execution; it offered more than the ministry required; this was neither accepted nor refused by the Ministry, which remained neuter. Another party opposed it, and I am apprehensive that the reason of its opposition has not been correctly understood. It would have paid very little attention to the formation of a few bishoprics; in common times, it is the business of the government to ascertain where bishoprics are required, and it is not worth while paying any attention to it; but the object with this party was, the spirit of the clergy, such as it discovers itself, and not to add to the strength of opposition, which was already too great. Such was the real point in question. This party was reproached with opposing itself to religion; this was not the case, but it opposed itself to a reinforcement which their adversaries demanded. What would the latter have said, if it had been proposed to apply the sum which they so ardently claimed as an augmentation of their ecclesiastical means, as the preservers of morality, to the suppression of the *public games of Paris*? Morality is surely more interested in extinguishing that which may produce crime, than in creating that which can only check it; first above all, do away with the opportunities of committing error, as it appears in medicine, is a much shorter and more economical mode to prevent diseases, than to pay professors for curing

them after they have broken out. You wish to have a moral people, the desire is most laudable; but, to effect this, begin by removing the temptations which may destroy that morality. It seems that the contrary proceeding to the one adopted must be the best, for it is the most natural.

A reduction of a sum exceeding fifty millions has been voted during the space of three years; this is a great deal, and it is also the first time since the establishment of regular taxes, that so extensive a return has been made to the contributors; let the occurrences which have happened in times still so fresh in our minds, and the enormous charges that France has liquidated, be recollected, and this truly marvellous relief, after so many recent disasters, will be acknowledged as the admirable effect of the representative government, which, by increasing the credit of France, and by making her triumph over the difficulties which were inherent to her position, has placed her in a situation to remit a portion of her revenues, and to offer them as a sacrifice to a nation, worn out by long and onerous tributes. This system has released the Governments from the principal embarrassment, and Ministers from the rocks on which they all split, and this embarrassment was—*money*. Every difficulty in this respect has now disappeared; the court has no longer any necessity to be occupied about it; the

Ministers are no longer obliged to find it, which formerly constituted the principal merit of the comptrollers-general; it is now the business of the Chambers; money is always to be found with them, as may be seen by what passes in England, America, France, and Holland. In these countries, the Minister of Finance, properly speaking, is only a regulator and not a creator of funds, as was formerly the case in France, and is still so in not-constituted countries; confusion and penury have breathed their last sigh at the shrine of publicity and fidelity, two divinities unknown to Law, to Terray, and to those administrators who said that *good faith* was only fit for the vulgar, and that those magistrates who were so ill-advised as to avail themselves of the maxims of *good faith*, ought to be driven from the councils of the prince.* There is a great difference between these maxims and those of our times, but there is also a great difference between that which was felt then, and that which we experience now. Then, every thing was exhausted and parched up, now, every thing prospers under a burthen of which the men of those days, would not have ventured to form an idea.

Several questions present themselves to our notice in this place.

* Sentiment of the Comptroller-general Emmercy, under the Regency of Louis XIV.

First, were the territorial taxes of so extensive and fertile a country as France, most oppressive by their quota, or their distribution? Secondly, whence did the really glaring inequality of the distribution arise, by which citizens of the same State, living under a general law of political equality with respect to the indirect contributions, should, in respect to the direct taxes, be placed on such an unequal footing, that some paid the one fourth of their revenues, and others only the seventeenth, or even the twentieth? Thirdly, is such a grievance compatible with the state of society? Fourthly, did the difficulty of re-establishing an equality, which had been so cruelly disturbed, exceed the strength of the assembly? Was it beyond the powers acquired by administrations, consummate in the practice of imposing taxes, and extremely well exercised in valuations and partition of property? That which took place during the course of the revolution, at the time of the disposal of the spoils, was much more difficult, and yet the execution was carried into effect, and frequently with the same justice that regulates transactions between two individuals.

The fifth question is of much greater moment: Are we more enriched by exacting less, or by affording the means of acquiring more? Thus, is a diminution of 100 francs on a contribution of

1200 francs of as great advantage to the contributor as the sum would be, if it were employed in creating facilities for the employment of his property, and the transporting of his produce, or in forming establishments for many articles of which he is in want ?

The total diminution amounts to 53,000,000 francs.

This is distributed among ten millions.

Leaves for each———5 fr. 25 cents.

Does this trifling return effect a perceptible change in the situation of the contributor; and would not the same sum, laid out in public works in which all would participate, have a more direct influence on public and individual property, than a simple return of contribution, which is in itself but negative, and which may be said to evaporate, by being divided into so many different parts ? This is an important question of political economy, the discussion of which is worthy of the attention of men of influence, both in and out of the chambers. However I may desire to see the public expenditure diminished, I cannot but think that taxes to the amount of 300,000,000 francs, if equally apportioned over the territory of France, would not be too heavy a burden for her. The whole of the

evil arises from the inequality of the distribution, which lays upon the shoulders of some, what is spared from those of others ; re-establish, approximate equality, for that is the only one that can be obtained in such circumstances, and the evil will disappear ; too much credit cannot be given to the intention of relieving the contributors, but the most important points of this question may perhaps, not have been discussed, nor, perhaps, have all its bearings been considered. Courage is never more necessary than in giving a refusal to a whole nation ; but its best interests require sometimes that it should be opposed, and it belongs to the Governors to put it in the right way to forward them. The veil that was drawn over the changes, that have been operated in the colonies, was at length removed during this Session, and this honor is due to Count Beugnot ; he was the first to attack the wall that was crumbling into ruins, and to shew the necessity of regulating the direction of France by the new existence of the Colonies. The completion of the revolution of the great hemisphere no longer permits a doubt or scruple on this head, and good sense ought to induce us to do by choice, and with a good grace, what we shall soon be obliged to do in spite of ourselves ; and with the addition of submitting to all the disagreeable consequences that are attached to resolutions that are effected by force.

In a preceding article, I have reviewed every thing that occurred with respect to the exception laws, and the introduction of a demand of an *exclusive* indemnity in favor of emigration. It would be superfluous to recur to it in this place.

Institutions are demanded every where to complete the charter, and to support its proceedings. The ministry replied to this wish by presenting a law, organising the Commons, and comprising the whole municipal and administrative system. It is an aggregate, composed of separate portions, and is to assign to the citizens, the part which each of them may take in the branch of affairs that does not necessarily enter into the functions of the Government. The aristocratical spirit, to which the ministry was at that time subservient, unfortunately prevailed so much in this plan, that at the view of this victim offered up by the hands of the ministry to aristocracy, one might have supposed them raising the tomb of public liberty in the midst of the assembly. This sad monument has remained buried there, and the presentation of a project, so offensive to all men endowed with liberal sentiments, is one of those acts, which has most contributed to deprive its authors of public confidence, and which will offer the most efficacious opposition to any regret that might be expressed at their downfall. I have,

for several years past, pointed out the inconveniences that must arise from uniting men under the same roof, amongst whom the same appellations are not always interpreted in the same manner; it is too evident, that the inevitable effect of a reunion of opposing, and almost always irreconcilable elements, must be to produce the most fatal collisions; the consequences of this have been seen during this Session; they continue to develope and engender themselves, and to increase the afflicting scenes that too often occur; how can they be avoided among men, who do not appreciate fundamental things in an uniform manner, some of whom stigmatize as revolt, what the others call right; as a sign of rebellion, what the others qualify as a mark of honor; who, while they ought to follow the laws of the constituent assembly, exclaim, *how can you dare* to name it here?* and who are constantly bestowing the titles of illegitimacy, usurpation and tyranny, upon what the others regard in a very different light? The same afflicting spectacle will continue to be presented, until a common and universally accepted signification be given to words. The interior of the Chamber of Deputies represents that which takes place on a larger scale in the rest of Europe, which is divided into two zones of Government and language. Such occurrences do not happen

* See the Moniteurs.

in England, because the points, which are the causes of division in France, have been long since settled, and generally acknowledged in that country, whilst they are still a matter of discussion in France. I limit this analysis to these principal features, the others being of a secondary order, and shall conclude with this last observation: A Minister observed one day, in a tone bordering on reproach, that the discussions turned easily to that of general principles. He did not perceive, that, in speaking thus, he was describing the history of his times, for it is the same thing from one end of the world to the other, and for the same reason; this reason is to be found in the social reformation that is operating, which necessarily produces an examination into general principles, and their comparison to existing facts. We are on the passage from the system of arbitrary rule and deeds, to that of right and regulation; we must, therefore, speak of general principles, for they present themselves every instant, and it is by them, that all decision is regulated. In a word, it is the reign of social order that is met with every where, within, as well as without the legislative Chambers, and of which the Minister felt the effects, without unravelling the action. It is true, that there is very little attraction between a Minister and the social contract; and it is not very astonish-

ing that they should meet without recognizing each other.

At the end of the month of July, the legal dissolution of the Chambers anticipated their *natural death*, for fatigue and private affairs daily diminished the attendance of the deputies, so that in a few moments more, all deliberation would have been legally impossible.

CHAP. XXX.

SESSION OF 1822. FALL OF THE MINISTRY.

THE Session of 1822, has only lasted a few days, and has already been productive of important results. It has caused the change of the Ministry, which is the principal occurrence in a representative government, for it is neither more nor less than a change in the direction of the State; this is what is commonly seen in England; and what France has experienced since 1815. At that period, the Ministry of 1814, although returned from Ghent, could not present any appearance of compatibility with the assembly that was approaching; it was therefore necessary to form another. On the return from Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, the measures were attacked, and it was only by dismissing part of the Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu that it could be maintained. In 1819, another division occurred with respect to the nature of the measures that should be pursued, and a new partition of the Ministry was the consequence. In 1820, the measures pursued by M. Deazes, were found wanting by the aristocracy; they were not sufficiently subser-

vient to all its views, and it was this circumstance, seconded by a most melancholy event, which occasioned his fall. After him the new Ministry undertook the direction of affairs in conjunction with the aristocracy; but during their progress, it perceived that its consort wished to take the lead and to outstep its proper bounds; a coolness arose between them, aversion followed, which finally led to the conflict, of which the consequences are well known. Two things are here to be remarked, 1st, that the crisis is always reserved for the opening of the Chambers; 2nd, That the public affairs are much affected by it, and that the business of the sessions, being thus retarded, draw them out to a length very fatiguing to the members.

We are here tempted to enquire, whether it be not possible to discover the tendency of the Chambers, so as not to postpone the decision on the part to be taken, until the last moment. The Ministry may always read its fate from the spirit that has presided at the elections; if it be decidedly favorable, then let it remain, it has a solid support; if it be equivocal, subject to dispute, then let it go out, it will not be able to maintain itself, for it has no support; if it be decidedly opposed, then let it fly quickly, for a decisive shock will make it sink into the dust. The public interest should make this foresight a law

to it, for it is not placed at the head of affairs with a view to personal duration, but with a view to the public good, which has nothing to do with the incumbents.

A Ministry in England would never venture to grasp the helm of government, if it were not certain of a considerable, and fixed majority; I say fixed, because we do not set out for half the journey only, but to be in company from the moment of departure till that of our arrival. What would be the fate of a Minister, who was condemned to feel his instruments always ready to slip from his hands, leaving only one half of the work finished? The majority must also be numerous, for one of only a few votes would be liable to uncertainty, would be exposed to risks, and would not be sufficiently imposing; it would possess authority, but it would be wanting in consideration, which is indispensable in this mode of government, it being founded on public opinion. A numerous majority is held in respect by the Opposition; on the contrary, a trifling, unsteady majority, is liable to attack and holds out a prospect of success.

The Ministers have fallen; there would be little generosity in reproaching them at this moment, however they may have deserved it;

we cannot dive into their intentions, these are known to themselves and to God, and we ought to believe them honest; we cannot deny the merit of great services and dignity to their chief—to some of them even superior talents, nor can we deny that they have all shewn themselves indefatigably minute, in the details of government and in unbounded attachment to their Prince. But having paid the tribute due to personal worth, their measures, in their whole extent, become our province and are subject to our appreciation. We are then permitted to ask these Ministers, Why, when they saw the state of the elections, when they were circumscribed by two parties, who had overcome their natural antipathy to each other for the purpose of uniting to crush them, why did they not generously make up their minds and avoid the stroke that overthrew them; it was in the nature of things, they should have foreseen and have anticipated it. How narrow and baseless must their calculations have been, when they reckoned upon the continuation of a devoted majority, as if things never changed, were never worn out, as if the elections did not shew them that their usual majority was at an end, and that they must resign their places! Facts have proved the futility of their calculations, and have revealed many others. These Ministers therefore calculated upon a short session, which would only be occupied with indispensable affairs and which

would, perhaps, be the beginning of a period of short ones ; the principal affairs of which would be to approve and increase the finances, and whose speedy dissolution would restore the ministry to act at its own discretion, and the public to tranquillity. The end of the provisional system was the ornament and the passport of this project, but oh ! How weak are the precautions of man ! Whilst the ministry was thus settling its proceedings for the year, other plans were also formed and were about to apply the axe to the very root of the tree. The engagement was not long in commencing, it would have been a miracle, if it had been delayed. It therefore began with the first act of the Chamber, the address in reply to the speech from the throne ; that of the Chamber of Peers abounded in expressions of affection and homage, that of the Chamber of Deputies was of a different nature, and some time elapsed between its adoption and presentation. The day at length arrived, and the presentation took place according to the strictest regulations ; the words of the monarch no longer teemed with satisfaction as had been customary on such occasions. The Ministry maintained that this address was fraught with inexpediency ; this was natural, for it was not praised in it. The Chamber defended its offspring, and may have been confirmed in its opinion, as well as the public, by the dismissal of the Ministry. They may perhaps have had

occasion to regret having engaged the monarch in this preliminary step without the means of supporting it, for it is not for the Prince to restrain a Ministry without support; on the contrary, it is the business of the Ministry to declare it to him; when it is wanting in it, it must resign. A majority in the legislative chambers is the *conditio sine quâ non* of the Ministry, and to be deficient on this point in a representative government is to be wanting to the government itself; how could the Ministers flatter themselves that they possessed this qualification, when they distinctly perceived that both the right and the left sides were opposed to them, although they were actuated by different motives. Swayed only by one idea at the time of the remodelling of the election laws, foresight had flown far from them, and they had not discovered that they might one day be under the necessity of dissolving the Chamber, unfortunately for them, they had so arranged matters, that a new election could only increase the perplexity of their position, by the immense advantages which they had secured to their capital enemy—aristocracy; the Ministers, therefore, could not venture to strike this blow, and being placed between the impossibility of forming a majority, or making a new election, it was their duty to resign, for such was their state, and it is that which has ruined them. Their catastrophe was caused by

the law of elections, and that without their being aware of it ; the real depth of their skill may be estimated by this, but, previous to their departure, they bade farewell to France by the proposition of a new code upon the press and the newspapers, the censorship of which they modestly required, should be continued for *five years only*. Considering all that had occurred since 1814, with regard to these two articles, the proposition evinced a fund of temerity, and a contempt of propriety, which could not but astonish every one ; the Ministry thus showed that it had forgotten, how easily its measures might be compared with those which were followed in other countries on these subjects, and the aversion that had been expressed by all parties during the last session, with respect to the censorship. To persevere, and, still more, to aggravate, when things had arrived at this point, discovered an incurable blindness.

The Ministry received its death-blow from aristocracy, but its fall has bequeathed a lesson to its successors that is likely to moderate the joy of its sacrificers. It has thus proclaimed that it will not be bound by gratitude, and that it is equally capable of sacrificing its friends as well as enemies. Aristocracy persecuted the last Ministry as it did the Duke Decazes, and on the same grounds—because it would not be dependent upon it ; this was its unpardonable crime ; above all, it

was amusing to listen to the provincial aristocracy which was still more enraged against the last Ministers, to whom it owed every thing, than against those to whom it owed nothing. From every thing some conclusion may be drawn, therefore, has France reaped any benefit or sustained any loss in all this? This is the essential point; welfare and honor for the contending parties, but safety to France; such should be our wish.

Supposing the aristocracy had wrested power from the hands of Ministers who wished to retain it, what does this signify to France? That ambitious minds should have met on the road to power, and that friendships should have split upon it; this has been foretold by Lafontaine:

Cet accident n'est pas nouveau
Dans le chemin de la fortune:

But what does France gain by it? Are these the same Ministers who framed the election law, that has been the cause of their destruction? Are they the same who presented the law on the Commons, the press, and of the censorship? Did not these same Ministers, in the golden days of their connexion with the aristocracy, promote it to the utmost of their power? Have they not richly surrounded it with posts of honor, command, and emolument? Have these Ministers repressed the

unruly flight of a clergy, carried away by an impetuous zeal, that cannot fail of becoming fatal? Have they taken any steps to weaken its effects, to reform it, and to circumscribe the invasion of these institutions, which led us back, by crooked paths, to monachism, and which tend to impart the aspect and spirit of a confraternity to religion? Were they not the most ardent propagators of the accusations of the Ban, against the Revolutionists and Liberals? Have they not co-operated in strengthening the great illusions of these times? Have they not accredited the popular rumours, which denounced conspiracies? Did they not formally announce those of June, of the East, and of Grenoble? Did they prove them? What honor has the chief magistrate decreed to it in person, by the inequality of its struggle with M. Madier Montjeau! What spirit has it not infused into the accusing magistracy, according to the nature of the causes it has permitted or obliged to burst forth, and according to the language it has suffered to pass without reprehension? Has not society a right to the brilliancy of justice, as well as to its purity? In what have these Ministers shewn themselves on a level with the spirit of the times, or superior to that of party, and strangers to its language? What shadow has separated theirs from that of Carlsbad, Troppau, the *Quotidienne*, and sometimes of the *Drapeau blanc*? Have these Ministers supported England in her energetic declarations against the

principles of Troppau? Have they been able to fix the proper political attitude which it became France to assume with respect to America, Turkey, and the South of Europe? Finally, have not these Ministers compromised the royal initiative, by the presentation of their law upon the press, the retraction of which was the signal for the arrival of their successors, and the discussion of which would have been fatal to whatever it had been applied to? If all this appertains to this Ministry, of what consequence is its absence or its presence to us? Men will never be wanting, who can see as far and as clearly. Is there any fear of men being wanting, who know how to insure to themselves the Majorats and Peerages? They are gone; others have preceded them, others will follow them; I trust that they will at length be able to discover the *philosopher's stone of our days*, the direction which it becomes France to follow in the midst of the changes of the world, of the complication of the affairs of the east, of the south of Europe, and of the conflict of the passions!

This is what must occupy the consideration and investigation of the present and future Ministers of France, in order to render their administration worthy of a nation of thirty millions of men, who are placed in the centre of the civilisation of the world. To administer regularly and to be careful

of the details is the smallest and least noble part of their task ; their minds must, above all, comprehend the vast whole of which they hold the springs in their hands, the happy and glorious management of which may both accomplish the good of their country, and lay the foundation of their lasting renown.

Strangers as they are to me, both in person and in every other respect, I cannot refuse them the only advice it is in my power to give them, which is, that they should watch over the preservation of their independence against aristocracy, which will reproach them, as the work of its hands, with indocility, if they do not accept of its yoke in its utmost extent. Time will teach them its weight and its exactions. I shall look for them some months hence. Let them remember those Greek emperors who were obliged to yield provinces to the barbarians, whom they had but the day before called in to their assistance. Their predecessors have fallen into this snare.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE THREE CRISES.

THE conclusion of the year 1821 was distinguished by three crises, in France, Spain, and Turkey, and the most singular circumstance in this coincidence is, that it presented the uniform character of a struggle between men and the nature of things; this is the only circumstance that is now to be observed. Nearly all the endeavors of the governments are now exerted to resist the universal movement which thwarts them, and deranges their usual modes of action; that is to say, to resist the nature of things; and, as they cannot resolve to conform to it, they waste themselves away in their efforts to modify it, or to repel it from them. If immediate action be required, they are immediately at issue with this nature of things, which they begin by discarding from their calculations, but which they always meet again more imperious and more untractable.

Of this, three striking examples have been furnished by recent times.

The French Ministers, in submission to systems and illusions, which I have abundantly analyzed in preceding works, implored the assistance of aristocracy, which no longer feeling any rancour, as soon as the road to power was opened to it, held out its hand to its new allies. This union possessed the same character as all other renewed friendships. At first, all was officiousness, mutual concessions, and measures concerted against the common enemy. The *debut* was delightful. When those questions were brought forward, in which the aristocracy triumphs, the Ministers dwelt upon them as much as it did itself; and whilst they were thus adding to its strength, they did not perceive that it was for itself, and not for them, that it was increasing and fortifying itself, and that it would turn the weapons with which they furnished it, against them. When the Ministers insisted upon the manœuvres of conspiracies, loaded their adversaries with factious imputations, and extolled every thing that was said to belong to legitimacy and religion, they only fortified aristocracy by thus assuming its language. These Ministers had too much sense to enter into all the ideas of aristocracy; they had conceived the vain hope of governing it, and of choosing from it, as if it were susceptible of being governed, or of dividing itself. They wanted to hold the balance of both parties in their own

hands, and to rule them, each in its turn, by their central position. They thought, that by giving themselves the greatest appearance of a party, they would possess the party itself; and here, without being aware of it, they fell into the same line of error that Napoleon followed, who imagined, that, by placing his brothers in a country surrounded by the great or accredited men, that he would have the sovereign disposal of them. Experience taught him the power of such combinations. The French Ministers cannot have been long in recognizing the effect of theirs; for after a few months of ardour, disagreements and animosities broke out. Resistance was declared, and was soon followed by a most lively attack and a necessary catastrophe. Such has been their inevitable fate, for having mistaken the nature of things, for having conceived it to be placed in men, and for having thought themselves capable of governing, by a handful of men, that which governs all things. How can we be astonished at the fall of men, capable of such misconceptions? We think we see unskilful workmen cutting themselves with instruments, which they know not how to manage. We may imagine a doctor cutting short the thread of his own days, by improperly playing with the scythe of death. The Ministers had been warned, but they paid no attention to it; they answered only by a

criminal process. Every one has his own manner of refuting his adversaries, and of getting rid of advice.

Such conduct is no less than suicide. Their inability deprives them of the greater portion of their claim to regret. During the whole course of the revolution, men styled themselves the masters of the army, because they corresponded with some of the officers. In the days of party spirit, knowledge is almost always equally diffused in the two camps, but it does not form them. The Cardinal de Retz himself would have trifled with the rock, upon which our Ministers have precipitated themselves, notwithstanding the lights of a most resplendent beacon, called *Guizot*, had rendered it impossible not to perceive it. They smiled at advice, which was offered to a prudence that was too exalted to receive it. They will have plenty of time to acknowledge the force of these counsels. The truth, with regard to these Ministers, is this, they had deceived themselves in their career. In sailing in the opposite direction to the true one, they perceived they had taken the wrong course, and when they wanted to call in *their unruly Consort*, she sided with their enemies, and, hoisting their standard for a moment, ran them down in a concerted tack. Such was their history and their

end. Their death was not occasioned by a stroke of the sun, the father of light.

Austria and England appear to have taken up nearly the same line of conduct with respect to Turkey. They take infinite pains to bring the Divan to reason, and it might be supposed, that there was nothing to do but to instil wisdom into the Grand Turk and his Council; but around these men, whose position may render them more accessible to the counsels of reason, there arises a population in all its native brutality, whose fanaticism, barbarity, and want of discipline, overawe the Sultan more than all the soothing remedies of the English and Austrians can give quiet to his mind. It is this population that must be rendered moderate, and not the chiefs, who are of themselves sufficiently inclined to it. But how can this population be moved, being, as it is, beyond all species of civilisation, and therefore incapable of perceiving any thing but Christians and their snares? The standard of the cross is before their eyes, opposed to the standard of Mahomet. Hence, this ferocious mob has but one feeling, but one desire, that of destroying it. One of the two must overthrow the other. Their natural incompatibility has been declared, and must be sealed with the blood of their hostile sectaries. What does it signify to these savage

hordes, ferocious from the manners imprinted on them by fanaticism, what Lord Londonderry and Prince Metternich may have said to each other, although with the most praiseworthy intentions? Their deliberations and determinations are completely nullified. Whilst pacific plans were arranging at Hanover, the Turkish blood was boiling over at Constantinople. Islamism murmured at the procrastination of its revenge, and prepared to take upon itself the office of revenging itself on a detested rival. The Sultan, both prince and high priest, summoned to encounter the danger to which the religion and the State were exposed, was forced to follow the impulse of his people, for the prince must look more to his people than to foreigners. The counsels of prudence were no longer the object in question, but the safety of every thing that this people holds most dear. Henceforward, the credit and consideration of the mediators daily declined, and they have concluded by being confounded in the hatred and mistrust with which every good Turk instinctively regards a Christian. Circumstances gave fresh impulse to this original feeling, nor was the moment, when Christianity most threatened Mahometanism, very favorable to the credit which the Ministers of Christian princes might otherwise have acquired. When men place their whole reliance in religion, every thing that is opposed to it becomes odious to them

and all compromise on their part becomes impossible.

The Sultan and his counsellors could not, latterly, look for any safety in using circumspection, with regard to the Russians and the Christians; on the contrary, it was only by partaking of the enthusiasm of the Musselmen, and by allowing it free scope, that they could provide for their own security in a country where opposition to the popular will is always the signal of death, so well is every thing arranged in despotic countries, according as it is more conformable to itself. The wisdom of the Sultan could only be shewn, by putting himself at the head of madmen, and being more mad than themselves. It is singular enough to see the public opinion in Turkey and Russia form a necessity for war, between the sovereigns of these two countries, both most absolute princes; so great is the power of opinion in all climates, and so much does it exceed all other powers! Whatever may be said, opinion will always be the ruler of the world.

Spain furnishes us with another instance of this disposition to substitute men for things, and to impute to the one what belongs to the other.

The revolution of Spain had been ruled with nearly the same proportion of art and intelligence

as the despotic government had been since 1814; and, therefore, the effect of the former has been in perfect unison with that of the latter. Revolutions are always followed by disasters. The art consists in diminishing the quantum of them, by regulating them in such a manner, as to deprive them of a part of their severity. This art has remained unknown in Spain. There is something in the constitution of the inhabitants that is averse to rule; and as this spirit is possessed of prodigious tenacity, which is honored with the title of constancy, when they have once adopted a certain line of conduct, it is invariably persisted in. At the opening of the first Cortes, the Minister of the interior drew a picture of the most deplorable state, into which a country had ever fallen. It was clear, that Spain was in a situation still worse than what is called a revolution; that it was bordering on dissolution; and, in truth, that it was mere deceit to complain of a government having undergone a revolution, which was at its last gasp. It was the revolution that restored it to life, which, without it, would have become extinct in all its parts. If the King of Spain have still a State to govern, it is to the revolution that he is indebted for it, for his Spain was extinguished. Spain was deficient in finances previous to the revolution. It was always by this deficiency that States are destroyed. The principal sources of the riches of Spain were dried

up; America had ceased to contribute any; she cost immense sums for the war, that was carried on against her; the territorial taxes languished with the general confusion of the State; the indirect revenues were reduced to a nonentity, in consequence of the new laws of the Customs established by the Cortes. Men, impatient of the successes of the time, and ignorant of its power, wanted to effect the first day what should have been postponed for ten years, and their temerity has met with its reward. This most important branch of the revenue has vanished. The internal disorders favored smuggling, which is a disease peculiar to Spain. Every smuggler declared himself an enemy of the revolution, and every enemy of the revolution became a smuggler. The country divided itself into *Serviles* and *Liberals*. The one has created the other. On the one side, the most alarming motions are made; on the other, the constitutional stones are thrown down; every one conspires in his own manner. In the midst of this general confusion, a name becomes a rallying point for the factious, who do not submit to the law, who attack it openly, and who desire the monarch to dismiss his servants. The latter oppose the storm, and whilst they are facing it with a composed countenance, the Cortes, laying aside all consideration of what has taken place in Spain, the real state of the

country, and the vices of the administration, throw the whole of the burthen on the shoulders of their unfortunate Ministers, whose right hand is disarmed and the other blasted with sterility by means of that of the treasury itself. Are they then the authors and promoters of factions and of the conspiracies that have succeeded each other, ever since the establishment of the constitution? Did they make the laws which banished money? Have they been the cause of the loss of America? Have they dissipated the funds that never existed? Have they been able to enforce the payment of the duties from an exhausted people already the prey of contending factions; What do the Cortes mean by the declaration, that the Ministers do not possess the confidence of Spain? And what Minister ever did, or does, or will in the state in which Spain is at present? Have there not been enough Ministers in Spain before, and have they been able to keep their places? They may seek other Ministers and transpose and transfer them from one place to another and recal the dismissed, they will not advance one step further by it; men are of no consideration in this, things are all. Reform Spain and pacify her; step boldly in the constitutional paths, strike down whoever throws obstacles in the way, and all difficulties will soon fly before you, and the Ministers will be in full enjoyment of the public confidence. The Cortes also

shew as little generosity as wisdom in thus overwhelming those unfortunate men, whose devotion they ought to have supported. It is certainly extremely delightful to be a Minister in such times, and it is no doubt an excellent way to oppose the factious, by assuming their language, and by granting all they require. When the monarch has been deprived of servants, who were perhaps of greater worth than any that preceded them, or can be found to succeed them, and has yielded to the force that drove them from his side, what will Spain have profited by it? What did France or Louis the XVIth profit by the violent introduction, or irruption of the Jacobins into his council in 1792? There was only one step from that to the 10th August. Will there be one dollar more in the treasury, or will there be one smuggler, one *Servile*, or one *Liberal* less, when the Ministers are no longer there? The improvement of the State therefore, does not depend on the change of men, but of things, and on the primary direction given to the machine. When this is well constructed, and put in proper train, every thing must proceed smoothly; but, when it is put together contrary to the rules of art, and receives a wrong impulse, all the arms in the universe would be impotent against the faults of its construction, and the improper nature of its direction. The Cortes have, on this occasion, given a proof of their participation in

the too common error, by which men are confounded with things, and by which things are attributed to the one, which can appertain only to the other. They have shewn weakness of judgment and of heart, in their appreciation of *things*, and in their pressure upon men, who were already loaded with a heavy burthen. There is but little courage in relieving one's self at the expense of one's friends, and in looking at the storm which bursts over the head of others. The poet is right in saying,

Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium, conversa tulère.

VIRGIL.

CHAP. XXXII.

ASPECT OF THE YEAR 1822.

IN 1821, the scite of the grand scene of Europe was placed in the south of Europe.

In 1822, the theatre will be transplanted to the east of that region, this will be effected by the double war of Turkey against Russia and against Greece. Greece is saved; she may from this moment be declared free. M. de Fontanes has taken twenty years to save Greece, in verses which are certainly very fine, for he has left the work half finished, and Greece will perfect her own liberation in a few months; nor did she free herself from the ancient tyrants of her little towns more expeditiously than she has now thrown off the yoke of the Ottomans. The rapidity of this unexpected event is not the least striking characteristic of this brilliant revolution, as well as of our epoch. All is there effected by thunderbolts. Greece will be the more free, because she will be indebted to herself alone for it; she will be under no obligation to any one; she will profit by diversions, of which she has not been the object,

and of which one part of those who find themselves obliged to contribute to them, had accused the first movements with being the *consequence of the great conspiracy of Europe, and of criminal combinations, which had begun to make the east of Europe the scene of incalculable convulsions*.^{*} This unintelligible declaration must surely now be a subject of regret at Petersburg, it must enlighten the Greeks with respect to their situation. Let them be indebted for their freedom to their swords, to their own courage solely; let them not associate any power in the honor of their emancipation; they will alone resist the great king, they will alone triumph over the grand Turk; and, standing singly, they will be more efficaciously freed than with the assistance or concurrence of others; alone they will bring their affairs to a better conclusion than with auxiliaries, who beginning as support *tel quel*, will end by wishing to be guides, and then masters; we are never completely free, but when we become so by our own single efforts; America has had the good fortune to succeed without the assistance of strangers, and therefore is she completely free. The United States would not less have fulfilled their destinies without the expedition of a small French army; Switzerland called none but her own citizens to the support of her liberty, and so far from pity-

^{*} Declaration of Laybach, May 12th, 1821.

ing Greece at her being thus deserted by Europe, we ought to congratulate her upon it; her interference would, perhaps, entirely spoil it, by subjecting a movement, a transport of liberty, an act of great civilisation, to the practices of Cabinets, whose hands, in the cause of liberty, are not, generally, more guided by tenderness than by ability. Greece will excite the astonishment of Europe. On the faith of our factors and navigators to the Levant, we do not appreciate the Greeks beyond the Americans and Chinese; they are represented as being cowardly, deceitful, covetous, sullied with all the low and abject vices which are the offspring of superstition and slavery; such may have been that Greece which is now expiring, but who can impede new born Greece from casting this garment of shame and infamy far from her? If she has sunk, can she not rise again? When does the germ of greatness totally perish in the human soul? Who then has the right to say to man, *You will go no further?* The enterprise of the Greeks is alone a sufficient answer to these hackneyed accusations. It certainly becomes us, of whom the bravest scarcely dares to look a gendarme or a village mayor in the face, to estimate the courage of those who venture to assault the bloody standard of Mahomet, and to incur all the dangers of a struggle under the scimitars of barbarians, who are always the eager ministers of death; those who have to deal with the Turks

must familiarize themselves with the idea of destruction; one hour of insurrection in Turkey is pregnant with more dangers than a whole year in our Europe would be. It is necessary to possess an astonishing portion of courage to dare to oppose them, when we know the whole extent of this danger, and when we are within reach of their barbarity. Alas! it is too certain, that a cataract of blood will rush forth from these mournful regions, and that the whole of the Greek population, that is not assembled in Greece herself, or protected by her arms, but spread over the devouring soil of Turkey, will be immolated, with all the refinements of barbarity that are peculiar to savage fanatics; a deep wound will be inflicted on humanity by means of the want of civilisation; and, in this deluge of horrors, the friend of humanity, who is capable of reflection, will contemplate the fatal effect of that terrible education that has been given to nations, by which they are only taught to hate and destroy each other in the name of their common father; to separate at a name which ought to unite them, and mutually to immolate each other in honor of Him who is the fountain of all love and goodness; this frightful spectacle cannot be contemplated but with heart-rending feelings. Is it possible that people are arrived at the necessity of being obliged, for their own safety, to exterminate each other from the face of the earth? Can any one now inscribe his name against civili-

sation, which averts the possibility of such horrors? How then can it be said that religion is all-sufficient in society? She is assuredly the basis of it, but if you separate her from civilisation, you will still have *Turks, Spaniards, Greeks, Irishmen, Crusaders, bigotted and always beaten Italians, the Sicilians and their vespers, and America exterminated*. Profound subjects for meditation will arise out of what has occurred, and what still will occur during the struggle of the Greeks against the Turks, through the want of civilisation among the latter. The nature of the acts that will be produced in the midst of this exasperated state of imperious and brutal passions, the violence of which cannot be restrained, it is impossible precisely to determine; but we may foresee that this struggle will afford matter for a new chapter on the human heart, which will be written on pages of blood, at the sight of which *Dante* would have started with horror.

The Turks do not carry on war in winter. The Greeks will therefore have time to organize themselves, and will only have to contend with a small part of the Ottoman forces, which will be occupied in defending the empire on three points, viz. against Russia, Persia, and Greece; the latter will therefore be victorious. She will pass the year 1822 in the military system; the civil system will not be formed till after the conquest

of freedom and its firm establishment. This has been the progress of the new American republics; so long as the war continued, they were only ruled provisionally, but that being finished, they have devoted themselves to their constitutional labours, and this will be the case every where; it is the natural tendency of things; they are not different, because they cannot be so.

Austria will endeavor not to appear upon the scene. Her diplomatic skill has replaced her in the same position she occupied with respect to Napoleon; she then marched with him against Russia, whom it was her interest to treat with caution; a disastrous treaty had chained her to his car, and her destiny has again brought her to the same point; she is now bound by a treaty with Russia, which, in the *casus fœderis*, may make her the auxiliary of that power in contradiction to her clearest interests. This is the consequence of the improvidence of an *every-day* policy; one system of things is entered upon, and then, another upon which they had not calculated, presents itself, and thus all the measures taken are rendered abortive. Austria is in this position; the affairs of Greece are a thorn in her side; they compromise her with Russia, who, in case of aggression on the part of the Turks, may call in her assistance against them; and how can Russia be convinced that the Turks are not the aggres-

sors? Austria will therefore be seen to display all her ability to disengage herself from this unpleasant co-operation; and, if successful, she will then proclaim her neutrality; that is to say, she will be present at the representation of this struggle with an immense force, the consequences of which contest must be most disastrous, and the evidence of which is so clear—this is the legitimate conclusion of so many disorders! It would have been better to have occupied herself less with Naples and the Carbonari, and to have paid closer attention to the affairs of the east; there was food for observation in that country. It would have been better to have offered a vigorous opposition to Russia, than to have introduced her into Italy. One hundred thousand men might have been drawn from that country, but now it must be watched.

England has the will, but not the means of influencing the affairs of the east, for neither ships nor money can be of any service there; armies are required, and where are the English armies? Where are those which she might pay, and which would be glad of her money? The contrary opinion can be ascribed only to ancient policy, it no longer belongs to our age. England will be, in 1822, like one of those figures in the back-ground of pictures, that can only be seen over the shoulders of the principal personages.

We have already stated the reason why Prussia cannot enter into the great political occurrences of the east. It is said, that she will occupy herself with the constitutional question, the solution of which has been so long expected. If this hope be realized, her time will not be lost in 1822. According to the picture we have already sketched, the most difficult part of the work is already completed; all that gave rise to the contest in France, has been already accomplished in Prussia by the wise and provident hand of the prince; the capital only is wanting to the column, and the Constitution that is announced, while it completes this monument, will also crown the work itself, which the Prince has already finished.

Spain will continue to experience disorders, the causes of which she has done every thing she could to multiply, but she will not perish in any of the ways pointed out; the constitution will not be overthrown by the ancient system, nor will royalty be abolished by anarchy; the state will not be crushed, as has been for some time prophesied by a mistaken opinion, nor is it improbable, that the ministers will triumph. The King has shewn firmness, his servants have not deserted him during the storm, which has blown over in the north of Spain; the chief, who was advancing towards Madrid, preceded by a reputation, the most distinguished amongst the assailants, has hastened

to return to his duty; a few bands of seduced men, wandering about Navarre, can only be considered as armies and dangers by the minds of men, who are anxious to see these armies and these dangers realized, which threaten the revolution of Spain, for that is the cause of their dissatisfaction; the remainder of this antiministerial insurrection will dissolve itself; and if the Cortes, under the guidance of moderate men, will abstain from encouraging the factious of whatever class, the crisis will be brought to a speedy and favorable termination; we can only say with certainty and satisfaction, 1st, that no tragical events will occur; and 2nd, that the revolution will prevail. Incidents may vary *ad infinitum*, neither their number nor quality can be ascertained by any one; but the nature of things appears to determine, that the enemies of the Spanish Revolution will be deprived of the two-fold joy, 1st, of witnessing the destruction of the revolution; and 2nd, of being able to impute one of those horrible crimes to it, of which they have availed themselves for many years past, to attack the most necessary revolutions, and to oppose themselves to every reasonable reform. *God save the King of Spain*, this would be a salutary lesson to all the world. Every other idea would be as inconsiderate as it would be criminal.

France will not have to take an active part in

the great transactions that are beginning in the east. She will limit herself to her internal cares, of which she has enough to occupy her for a long time. With new ministers, she has now entered upon a new system of measures, which is the eighth during eight years, within which space of time,* the number of her directors amounts to forty-three;† she will be seen entirely given up to this new movement, exclusively engaged in it, amidst a great abundance of supplies of money, a great development of industry, and a system of physical perfectibility greatly surpassing her political direction. We shall see whether the exertions will be turned towards those institutions, which France has so long sighed for; whether the cementing

* Including the double ministries exercised by the same person.

† Including the readmissions into the ministry:

Talleyrand.	Dubouchage.	Richelieu.
Dambray.	Molé.	Siméon.
Blacas.	Roi.	Lauriston.
Louis.	Dessolles.	Roi.
Malouet.	Louis.	Villèle.
Jaucourt.	Desserre.	Corbières.
Fouché.	Latour-Maubourg.	Lainé.
Gouvion St. Cyr.	Beugnot.	Bellune.
Corvetto.	Dupont.	Clermont-Tonnerre.
Richelieu.	Montesquiou.	Montmorency.
Marbois.	Sault.	Peyronnet.
Decazes.	Ferrand.	Villèle.
Vaublanc.	Pasquier.	Corbières.
Lainé.	Portal.	
Feltre.	Pasquier.	

power of the new connexions will be more durable than that of the former ones, and whether the discussions will not reproduce the storms which are past.

Grant Heaven, that what I have announced with too much truth in aggravation of the years that have just gone by, may not receive a new confirmation in that, upon which we are now entering; and that it may not be said that we are in a more embarrassed situation in 1822, than we were in 1821!*

The whole of South America was in a state of war in 1821; an end has been put to this. In 1822, she will be entirely occupied by civil order; her enemies are no more, she has only to arrange her internal affairs. Bolivar completes the conquest of the country, that extends from Darien to the Orinoco; by annexing Porto-Bello and Panama to his republic, he assures to it the keys of the two great commercial points, which henceforward will open a shorter road for communication between Europe and America, and the

* *Petit Cathéchisme*, page 43.

We were in a worse situation in 1815 than in 1814; in 1818 than in 1817; in 1820 than in 1819; and we shall be in a still worse situation in 1821, than we are now in 1820, and for the same reason; the ministers are not the causes of the *crescendo* of this uncomfortable position. Change men as you will, by leaving things, you will always have the same results.

Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean. This event will be to the present trade, what the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was formerly. It is a great commercial revolution, which will operate a change in its relations. If Mexico had continued dependent upon Spain, it is much to be doubted, whether a chief, who displays so elevated a mind as General Bolivar, would have left this door open to Spain, to fall in upon the republic he had just established. He would undoubtedly have been seen marching against Mexico, in order to deprive Spain of this last means of continuing, or of resuming her empire over America; but the revolution of Mexico has spared him this labor, and he will be able to turn his whole attention to the interior organisation of this magnificent republic. The future generations in America will in time, surpass the most brilliant periods of Greece and Rome; restricted by nature to boundaries formed by her hands, without the wish or power of departing from it, neither being able to conquer or to be conquered, they will be seen devoted to the sole care of pouring forth into the world those riches, with which their bosom overflows; it will then be discovered, whether America independent, be more useful to the world, than was America, when under the dominion of Spain.

The year 1822 will run through its course as

peaceably, with respect to the United States, as the year 1821. This country takes no share in European quarrels, she has nothing to do with them; her object is to increase her population, to fortify herself, to cover the seas with her ships, to share in every species of commerce, and to communicate peaceably with all nations under the double banner of *liberty and reciprocity*, acknowledged by reason and justice. These States being freed from the prejudices of Europe, liberated from her ancient institutions, and even fortunate in their procrastination of their advancement, which has facilitated their progress in purified civilisation, enjoy a peaceful and increasing happiness, which retraces in the political world, the golden age in the first days of the existence of the universe.

The opening of the Congress has given a fresh proof of this tranquil and increasing prosperity, the truly humane system of these States, viz. of treating every one as equals, of making *reciprocity* the basis of their stipulations with all nations, has been exhibited in its clearest light by the account of the negotiations with all the European powers; every thing with them passes under the law of uniform and inoffensive principles; and further, the United States have realized that, which the new colonial system announced, that they would endeavor to destroy the *exclusive power*, which is

the foundation of the European system with respect to the colonies, and that she would exert herself to break through these barriers, which were raised by monopoly and custom. In their negotiations with England and France, they demanded that the harbours of the colonies should be opened to them, as those of the mother country are, and in this they were right; they have received a refusal. But what Europe refuses to them, the revolution of America accords to them; for how will the colonial powers henceforward refuse to open their ports to the multiplied flags of the American powers, which are establishing themselves at their very doors, and which, by their number, their vicinity, and the cheapness of their productions, will involve them in insurmountable embarrassments? It is very evident, that in a short time, this system of things will be destroyed; necessity will do that, which reason should have done, and which interest rejects. It is thus that it always happens: but it is thus also that truth always triumphs. It has gained one of these brilliant triumphs in the solution of the grand dispute of the emancipation of America; the United States had foreseen its conclusion, and the President of the Congress, on noticing its completion, has traced out the only path that Spain can now follow, in the most becoming terms towards that power, and the most conformable to the laws of nations. When power has fled, it is

always well if we can fly for refuge to reason,—and a shelter of this kind cannot be offensive to pride.

Such are the auspices under which the year 1822 has commenced, and such appears to me to be the aspect of it. This outline may be filled up by incidents, which surpass my powers of foresight. May there be nothing awful contained in them! May all that this picture contains of a gloomy nature, be dissipated! May all its consolatory parts be realised; and may the fullest accomplishment await the Roman wish: *Felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit!*

NOTE.

The political trials, and those upon the press, which have been very numerous during the course of the year 1821, have been purposely omitted in this work. They offer important subjects for meditation, and have realized every thing that M. Guizot had announced in his excellent work on *Conspiracies and Political Justice*. This object is of too great importance not to call for a very serious discussion, which would have extended this work,

already sufficiently long, to too great a length. To render it useful, it would have been necessary to expose the spirit which the Magistracy has shewn in political causes,—to recal the principles of the judicial system on this head,—to analyse the causes and the pleadings that have arisen out of it, and to explain the frequent contradictions that have occurred between the Magistrates and the Jury. This work is completed, its extent prevents insertion here. It furnishes the most evident demonstration, that which results from facts, that the judgment in political affairs, and above all those of the Press, can be confided only to the Jury,—that even an accusing Jury is absolutely necessary; that the Magistrates, who, in civil cases, naturally offer all possible guarantees, do not present any in the judgment on political opinions; and that, in this case, their virtue even creates danger; that, in days of party spirit, and particularly in ours, political opinions cannot be judged with the least shadow of security; but by men selected from all the classes of society, that is to say, by the *country*, which, in this instance, is termed *Jury*, because it alone is capable of knowing and representing the opinion of the country; which, in the contrary case, in order to prevent one party from judging another, and in order to hinder men, whose thoughts and expressions have no point of contact, from becoming the *permanent* judges of these thoughts and expressions

of others, ought to give the accused the right of challenging the judges, whom he knows to belong to a party in diametrical opposition to his own, and ought to make it a matter of conscience and honor with the judge to except against himself, whenever he found that his own opinion embarrassed the person brought before him; for the question relates to all that is most awful upon earth,—to decide upon the life, liberty, honor and fortune of our fellow creatures. It is not an act of distrust against the Magistrate, but against the prejudices to which human nature is too liable to yield. Twenty years of sentences pronounced in England in political matters, by the most enlightened and upright tribunals, are the deplorable monuments of this truth. History has preserved them as an eternal lesson. The tears, which England may shed over them, will not restore the victim to existence.

The Jury has frequently refused to admit the evidence of the judge; it has refused credit to his fears, with respect to the order of society; this opposition has arisen from the difference of their situations, by which the one judged according to the state of the world in which he lived, and the other, according to the spirit of his profession. If there be no community of appreciation between the Magistrates and the *Jury*, who represent the state of society, how can there be any between

the Magistrates and those whom they accuse, and whom they are to judge according to the spirit of their accusation? In such a case, to accuse and condemn are synonymous terms. The Magistrates do not restrict themselves to saying, *A criminal act has been committed in the eye of the law*, but society is also in danger. In thus replying to a question, which society does not put to them, and does not desire them to put, the Jury says, there is no danger to society. The Magistrate says, such an act is alarming, and may cause troubles. The Jury replies, it is the most indifferent thing in the world. Who is the best judge of what affects society,—he, who is selected from all the classes that constitute society, or he, who only forms part of one, and always the same class? This is a most important consideration, and it has been felt in England, the United States, and in Sweden, where a Jury has been proposed to be established in all trials respecting the Press.

It was from a view of the dangers of a contrary system, that I was induced to examine; I am aware of the malevolence that too often follows my writing, I have felt its effects, but personal considerations will not stop a man, who devotes himself to the cause of truth, to the advantage of his neighbours, and who knows, that the duties in social order are proportionate to the enjoyments

which it provides; not to serve, would be to desert, when all are in danger.

All sensible men must own, that every work which bears characteristic evidence of a formal attack on all that is interesting to society, should be visited with the utmost severity of the laws, but it would be better to prohibit writing altogether, than to impeach and judge according to tendencies, mutilated, selected sentences, supposed intentions and artful interpretations.

*Extract from English documents on the Trade to the
East Indies, China, and South America.*

A company has been formed under the sanction of the Prussian-Government, for the purpose of introducing the produce of manufactures of Germany into Spanish America. This company will be called the Rhenish West India Company, and its exportations will be limited to this object. Why should not a similar association be formed in London for the same purpose? Other nations will probably turn their attention to this important object, and will, no doubt immediately endeavour to enter into negotiation with the governments of those countries to secure a preference to themselves, if possible. None however can cope with us. Spain must look upon these regions as lost to her, and we may hope to obtain a great proportion of the advantages of a lucrative trade in the free intercourse that is about to be established; for as the Americans are not a manufacturing nation, they will be in want of every thing, with which Great Britain can supply them; if we stand in need of their produce, they cannot do without our manufactured articles.

Vera-Cruz, Carthagena, and Chagre, will supply us with the three great openings, by

which our manufactories were introduced into the Spanish possessions during the last war; but as it is supposed that two thirds of them passed through the latter place, our observations must therefore, at present, be limited to that place.

The very convenient harbour of Porto-bello is situate to the North East of Chagré, and is extremely well fortified; every description of vessels may there ride at anchor in perfect safety until they have discharged their cargoes, or taken in their homeward freight. The principal part of the articles, that are suitable to the American market are landed at this place, and are afterwards transported in large boats to Chagre, where there is not sufficient depth of water for ships. The distance from Porto-bello to Chagre does not much exceed ten leagues; at this place, there is also a fort, which protects the entrance of the river. The goods are forwarded up this river in boats to Creuse, which lies at about twenty leagues from its mouth, and from thence to Panama, on the shores of the Pacific, is not above seven or eight leagues, through a very level country, which offers every facility for making an excellent road.

From Panama, there is a direct communication by land with Lima, and by sea, with Valparaiso,

in the thirty-second degree, south latitude, and with California, in the twenty-third degree, north latitude.

The Isthmus of Darien is a narrow neck of land, situate between San Blas, and the Mosquito Indians. These tribes are not well disposed towards the Spaniards, but to us are very friendly; the three strong positions of Porto-bello, Chagre, and Panama may be considered as the key to the whole of this country, and would secure to the nation possessing them, a free communication with this territory. They must in the end belong to one of the great Powers of Europe, and not to the United States, for it is impossible, that so pusillanimous a race as the South Americans should ever appreciate their value, or be able to maintain the independence of those places.* The passage from Jamaica to Porto-bello is generally

* This document proves how much commercial attention begins to be attracted by the changes that have taken place in America. The author is evidently mistaken, in supposing the Americans incapable of feeling the importance of a communication between the two seas by means of Porto-bello and Panama, or of maintaining the independent possession of them; it is well known Bolivar has already turned his arms towards them, and certainly not with the intention of their being held by any European power. This false and invidious assertion does not weaken the truth contained in this article, which is the reason of its being laid before the public.

made in four or five days, thence to Chagre in one, to Creuse in two, and thence to Panama in five or six hours; goods may therefore be transported from Jamaica to the South Sea in about a week; they may be forwarded to Payta in a fortnight, and to Lima in about a fortnight more.

Jamaica is admirably situated for carrying on the great trade with this part of the world, either for the supply of the Spanish markets, or even for extending the trade to the East Indies or to China; with such a means of communication as the Isthmus of Darien presents, Great Britain would be enabled to supply the articles required by this great portion of the globe, without being obliged to double Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope.

If an association were entered into by British Merchants, establishments might be formed under their protection, at Jamaica, Vera Cruz, Mexico, Porto-bello, Chagre and Carthagená; they would penetrate into the Spanish possessions; the hills in the north west would furnish an abundant supply of timber for the shipping; the fur trade would be extensive and easily carried on; the South Sea offers abundant scope for fisheries, and the *Guatemala* indigo and cochineal would

find a more convenient road by Panama, than by the old one of Vera Cruz and Truxillo. To this place would also be transported the cotton reared in the Southern provinces of Santa-Fé; this would also be the case with respect to rice, flour, and other articles of consumption in our colonies, with which they are now supplied by the United States.

*Principal events that have occurred in 1821.
referred to by this work.*

Armistice of Colombia; first treaty between America and Spain.

Mr. Canning's retirement from the Ministry.

Commotion of the students at Turin.

Sentence on the tumults in June; all the accused acquitted, except Colonel Duvergier.

Copy of accusation refused by the Chamber of Peers.

Congress of Troppau transferred to Laybach; the King of Naples at Laybach.

Explosion of Petards at the Tuileries, 24th January.

Opening of the English Parliament.

Petards in Paris.

Constitutional Cortes at Lisbon.

Answer from the Emperor of Austria to the Lyceum at Laybach.

Parliament at Wirtemberg.

Parliament of Naples; proclamation by General Frimont and by Austria.

Neapolitan preparations for war.

Norwegian Diet.

Law of the Commons, presented to the Chamber.

Portuguese constitution at Madeira and the Brazils.

Emancipation of the Irish Catholics, passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the House of Lords.

Spanish Cortes, the King's speech, dismissal of the Ministers.

Recruiting law, adopted at Wirtemberg during the absence of the Chamber of Peers, absent from motives of opposition,

Cession of the Floridas to the United States.

Revolution of Piedmont, abdication of the King, Regency of the Prince de Carignan.

Spanish deputies dismissed from Buenos Ayres.

Proclamation of the new King of Piedmont; termination of the revolution of that country.

Termination of the revolution of Naples.

Insurrection of the Greeks in Moldavia; Prince Ipsilanti; revolution of Greece.

State councils and provincial councils at Naples.

Disbanding of the King of Spain's life guards.

Insurrection in Spain.

Military commissions, executions, decapitations, imprisonments and acquittals at Turin and Naples.

The constitution accepted by the King of Portugal; the Cortes refuse to admit the word *accept*.

Close of the Congress at Laybach.

Discussion on endowments in the Chamber of Deputies.

Divorce admitted in some cases by the lower Chamber of Holland.

First revolution of Mexico.

Jesuits recalled to Naples.

Diet of Wirtemberg; good understanding between the Ministry and the Chambers; fine speech of the King,

Refusal of the Norwegian Diet respecting the nobility.

Jury proposed by the King of Sweden, in matters of libel.

Death of Napoleon.

Exemption from taxes and statute labour in favour of the nobility, suppressed by the government at Hanover.

Close of the ordinary Spanish Cortes—notice of extraordinary Cortes—opening of the American ports and those of the mother country, to all nations.

Return of the King of Portugal to Lisbon.

Sentence on the conspiracy of the 19th August; no one capitally convicted.

Coronation of the King of England.

Prorogation of the Parliament.

French Budget.

Close of the Chambers.

Yellow fever at Barcelona; self devotion of the French doctors.

Battle of Caloboso; Bolivar's victories and conquests.

Resignation of the Ministers Corbières and Villèle.

Death of the Queen of England.

King's voyage to Ireland.

Funeral of the Queen of England.

Extraordinary Cortes at Madrid.

Mexico declared a constitutional Mexican empire, and the King of Spain invited to proceed to Mexico.

German Concordates.

French Electoral Colleges.

The Austrian and Russian Ministers quit Lisbon.

Jesuits at Vienna; the public education again entrusted to them; foreign teachers dismissed.

Erection of Luther's Statue at Wittemberg.

Papal bull against the *Carbonari*.

Recal of the Prince of Brazil to Lisbon, in order to travel for the completion of his education.

Opening of the Chambers.

Address of the Chamber of Deputies.

The King's answer.

Attack upon the Ministers.

Their dismissal.

New Ministers.

Capture of Lima; Independence of Peru.

Capture of Carthagen and Porto-bello. Completion of the Revolution of America.

Persian War against the Turks.

POSTSCRIPT.

JANUARY 14th, 1822.

This Work is, for the greater part, intended to prove :

1st. That all the present questions, in every part of the world, relate to the Social Contract.

2nd. That an absolute and direct contradiction exists between the different parties, upon fundamental points.

3rd. That it was impossible that the former Ministry could sustain the necessary consequences of its own system.

I beg to remark,

1st. That the Ministry had scarcely sufficient strength to open the Session.

2nd. That, at the first sitting, the discussion turned upon a fundamental question, and that the sentiments of the same men, who, a few days before, had agreed upon several points, were now completely at variance. (See the Sitting of the 11th of January.) I have seen and observed this approaching for the last eight years. It is one of the most remarkable circumstances that has taken place since 1789. After the Charter had existed eight years, a discussion was begun upon the principle of the authority of the Charter itself; the state of human societies has been called in question; it was asked whether the rights of nations were derived from the Charter, or the Charter from the rights of nations? this is the whole question.



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